BUILDING A CASE FOR

INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE WITH MIXED-USE ANARÂŠKIELÂ LANGUAGE NEST AND HOME FOR ELDERLY

JENNI HAKOVIRTA

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, Saami architecture is viewed through two different lenses - International Indigenous architecture and the narrative of Anarâš people. The first part, which is the written and the main body of this dissertation, is organized around the International Indigenous Design Charter. This Charter gives advice for how to approach Indigenous design with respect. Within the written work, the narrative of a Saami building is reflected against the 10 sections of the Charter. The chosen building typology in this dissertation consists of a mixed-use building, housing an Anarâškielâ language nest and a care home for the elderly. The building is situated in Aanaar. Therefore, Saami architecture is examined through a specific user group, Anarâš people and their relationship with their Indigenous language Anarâškielâ while the collective Saami narrative, self-determination and symbolism is examined in relation to the built environment throughout the written work.

A conclusion to the written part is offered in the second part where the building typology is briefly examined through diagrams. Issues around the specific context of the building is formatted through concepts relative to themes that have arisen in the written work. This section of the work does not give a concrete design solution. Its aim is to evoke discussion about how Indigenous Anarâš building and its cultural context could be approached in this specific case.

key words: architecture, Indigenous, Saami, Sámi, Anarâš, Anarâškielâ, language nest, care home, mixed-use

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämän diplomityön aihe käsittelee saamelaista arkkitehtuuria kahden näkökulman kautta. Nämä ovat: kansainvälinen alkuperäiskansojen arkkitehtuuri sekä inarinsaamelaisten oma erillinen näkökulma. Työn ensimmäinen osa on kirjallinen. Sen rakenne perustuu International Indigenous Design Charteriin, jossa ohjeistetaan miten alkuperäiskasojen muotokieltä ja muotoilua voi lähestyä kunnioittavasti. Tässä diplomityössä saamelaista arkkitehtuuria pohditaan Charterissa esiintyvien kymmenen kohdan kautta. Tähän työhön valittu rakennustyyppi käsittää monitoimisen rakennuksen, jonka käyttäjät ovat inarinsaamelaisia. Rakennuksessa on inarinsaamenkielinen kielipesä sekä koti vanhuksille ja se on sijoitettu Inariin. Saamelaista arkkitehtuuria tarkastellaan tarkan käyttäjäryhmän ja heidän kielensä kautta, samalla kun kollektiivista saamelaista todellisuutta, itsemääräämisoikeutta ja symbolismia käsitellään rakentamisen ja tilan kautta läpi koko tekstin.

Kirjallisesta työstä syntyneitä johtopäätöksiä pohditaan työn toisessa osassa. Kirjoitustyön aikana nousseita teemoja käsitellään diagrammien kautta. Tämä työn ei varsinaisesti anna konkreettista suunnitelmaa rakennukselle vaan inarinsaamelaista arkkitehtuuria lähestytään alkeperäiskansalaisuuden ja rakennuksen erityisen kulttuuri kontekstin kautta.

avainsanat: arkkitehtuuri, alkuperäiskansat, saamelaiset, inarinsaamelaiset, inarinsaamen kieli, kielipesä, vanhukset, hoivakoti, monitoiminen

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I want to thank few people.

Thank you Grant and Mom for your love and tireless support during my University studies.
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I have completed my studies in two Universities. I did my Undergraduate Degree in the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow and my Masters Degree in the University of Oulu in Oulu. I want to thank the architectural departments in both universities for equipping me with very different but as valuable lessons in architecture.

In Strathclyde University, I learned to open my mind, make my case and grow thicker skin, which I am immensely thankful for. A thank you for eye opening wonderful lectures goes to Jonathan Charley.

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Jenni Hakovirta

Picture 1.1 Sieidiväärri (Seitavaara), Vyeppeeväärri (Vuopajavaara) and the moon.

'Here borders are to be crossed.

Here opposites come together, equally worthy of existing.

Here the contrast rises, showing the beauty.

Here the conflicts begin, if I fight the divisions.

Here the eye realizes the perspectives.

Here the yearning finds peace, with one foot on either side.

Here the storm gets its power.'

Sofia Jannok[1]

PREFACE,

The start of this project really lies with my sister Aune. We both grew up with an awareness of ageing as our great-grandmother was cared for by her daughter at her home until she died in 2011 at the age of 99. Great-grandmother Hildá was the center of the family. I used to spend time during the summers helping out with caring for her and I saw how well looked after for and safe she was at home. Later, when I had a summer job in an urban care home, it became clear to me how different life was for a person in an institution. Eventually, my sister became a practical nurse and her final project for her school was a business plan for a small mixed-use unit not too dissimilar to mine. I remember how exciting the idea was at the time. The concept of this type of a building made so much sense to me. Over the years, I have not been able shake it out of my mind.

At the beginning of this project, I did not want my work to be political; I just wanted to produce a polished well-done design. I had done the research I felt necessary to explain who Anarâš people were and how a mixed-use building like mine is relevant to them. I managed to get well into the design phase of my project, when I got back to the city after spending several months in Aanaar during the summer of 2020. Somehow, I ended up reading again on topics of language and identity, through which, I one day fell face-first into the subject of Indigenous architecture. In September 2020 I attended a Zoom conversation with Jefa Greenaway, Peta Clancy and Elisabeth Grant, and while listening to them talk and have a conversation about Indiginous processes in design and art, something clicked. The things I had been trying to understand as much about myself as about the profession I was about to enter fell in place.

How easily I had adopted the attitude of 'there is no contemporary Saami architecture'! At no point had it crossed my mind to ask 'why' and I am definitely not that unfamiliar with the procedure of asking why. It had not occurred to me to look at Saami architecture as part of the bigger picture. Settling to other peoples' realities had restricted me in the way I have been able to relate to built environment when it had anything to do with my people. Realizing there were other Indigenous architects studying, writing and asking questions about issues with values I found all too familiar was a relief. This project has truly forced me to look at how my Indigeneity has affected decisions I have made and challenges I have had during my degree studies. I have been carrying my Saami identity quietly with me. Coming to terms with this has been liberating.

I cannot write about Indigenous Saami architecture without it being political. It makes me laugh now, thinking how ridiculous the whole idea was. The Indigenous issues are always political and Saami people in this way are no different. And without a shadow of a doubt, architecture and politics is a whole topic on its own right.

I would say that quite adequately, this dissertation has gone through a full circle, where in the end of it, I returned to the start. I took re-stock and went through the material I had produced with fresh pair of eyes and added on. This whole project is highly personal, there is no denying it. However, I see my work as my ***duodji.*** *This is my tool, my material and my knowledge.*

My building is not polished. It is not even finished. I now do not see it as a well-designed building until it has had the proper input by the community who needs it.

Now,

I will start at earnest and finally introduce myself.

I have come to this place because of the great-great-grandmother who thankfully never left, my great-grandmother who worked so hard to keep us home, my grandmother who has rooted me in and because of my dad, who I wish could have been here. I am an Anarâš architect. I am not a global warrior of an architect who comes from no place and I am glad through this work I have had the chance to joyfully celebrate this. I truly hope this work will introduce you to our small Indigenous group. We have an unique history, culture and language which many people make a huge effort to keep alive. It is pretty incredible.

In Oulu and Aanaar during the Corona time

Jenni Hakovirta

1 Jannok, Sofia. *http://sofiajannok.com/*

Duodji is commonly used North Saami word for handicrafts (practical tools, clothing items and accessories) produced by Saami people.

Picture 1.2 Spring flood, Hildá granny, dad and the pike catch.

PART 1

WRITTEN RESEARCH

1.1 WORDS

In the beginning of this dissertation work, I spent considerable amount of time in trying to figure out what words to use for Anarâš people and for their language in my texts because I write in English. The academic writing in English uses often terms **Aanaar Saami (AS)** and **Inari Sámi** when language, people or culture are talked about. I wanted to avoid using abbreviations in my text and I did not want to use Finnish words in an English text. It was clear I wanted to use Anarâš words. Generally speaking, there are a few different words that could describe Anarâš people, such as **Anarâšah** (plural) or **Aanaar Sämmiliih**. My decision was to use the singular term together with the English word, so I speak of **Anarâš people** and **Anarâš culture**. I use **Anarâškielâ** for the language.

I understand there is a historical and political context[1] to consider when I decide to go for any particular term. I do believe words have power however I have not picked any of these terms because of any affiliation with an organization, political or not.

The decision I have made when using a Saami word for place, name or other things has borne out of desire to respect people and their cultures and to also respect myself.

duodji *In addition to being a material practice, duodji could also be described as a Sámi way of living, of building cultural identity and community, and as a world view. Sámi author Lemet Sire Rauni (Rauni Magga Lukkari) has said: ' Duodji is a message which opens to those who can read it.* [2]

Anarâš is how Anarâš people call themselves in their own language.

In Finnish: inarilainen / inarinsaamelainen

Anarâškielâ is what the language of Anarâš people is called in their own language.

In Finnish: inarinsaame / inarinsaamen kieli

mááccuh is the Anarâškielâ term for the traditional clothing. Mááccuh literally means 'a jacket'.

gákti - North Saami, määccaǩ - Skolt Saami, lapintakki - Finnish

Sámi homeland *is legally defined and covers the municipalities of Eanodat, Aanaar and Ohcejohka as well as the Lappi reindeer-herding district in the municipality of Sodankylä.* [3]

Sápmi '*is the culturally habited area traditionally inhabited by Saami people. People often refer to Sápmi as Lapland.*' [4]

Sämitigge is the parlimental body of the Saami people in Finland.[5]

Sámediggi - North Saami, Sää´mte´ğğ - Skolt Saami, Saamelaiskäräjät - Finnish

Aanaar is the name of the largest municipality in Finland. Aanaar has four official languages: Finnish, Anarâškielâ, North Saami and Skolt Saami. The municipality also has a village called Aanaar village. The village is considered to be the Saami cultural center as in it are located the Sämitigge (in Sajos) and Sámi Museum (Siida).[6]

Anár - North Saami, Aanar - Skolt Saami, Inari - Finnish, Enare - Swedish

Saami In English language often the word Sámi, Sami or Saami is used when the Indigenous groups of northern Europe are generally discussed. In my texts I have opted to used the word Saami as it is a derivative from the Anarâškielâ word '*Sääm*i' and it is used in English texts written by Anarâš scholars.

Lake Aanaar is the biggest lake in Sápmi.

Inarijärvi-Finnish

Avveel is a village in Aanaar municipality.

Ivalo - Finnish, Avvil - North Saami, Â'vvel - Skolt Saami

Ohcejohka is the North Saami name for a village and municipality on the Finnish-Norwegian border.

Deatnu is a North Saami name for a municipality on the north-west part of Finland, which is sandwhiced between Norway and Sweden.

Identity *is a key term in anthropology but it is also a contested one, dealing with the question of who we are in relation to others. It relates, on the one hand, to categories of the individual or sameness with oneself and, on the other, to collective distinctions of otherness.* [7]

Indigenous *peoples in independent countries who are regarded as Indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.*[8]

Indigeneity *is woven through diverse experiences and histories and is often described as a pan-political identity in a postcolonial time. However, that can be misleading, as the world does not yet exist in a postcolonial state, despite ongoing concerted efforts by Indigenous people and their allies in political and academic spheres to decolonize institutions and communities. Diverse Indigenous communities weave Indigeneity through a multifaceted array of space and time to revive identities and cultural practices and to regain or retain land, human rights, heritage and political standing.*[9]

Indigenous architect I have extended the term Indigenous architect to people who identify themselves as an Indigenous person i.e., as a member of an indigenous community.

Indigenuos architecture I*ndigenous architecture is at its essence a critical mechanism for expressing or articulating this narrative, in built and natural form. In other words, architecture must be constructed from this narrative; from Indigenous knowledge/s, Indigenous values and Indigenous processes to be Indigenous architecture. - Indigenous architecture invokes notions of modified landscapes, structures and buildings, of this place, of this people and this land and territory. The ancestral link between people and place is inextricable, indeed fundamental. Architecture and the built environment became, and, what is more, remain a critical medium through which this link can continually be reinforced.*[10]

Decolonization *process has a very central role in the Indigenous discourse. An important part of this discourse is Indigenous peoples' effort to determent ethical guidelines and principles from their own point of view, as well as having a discussion around research activities and determining who has the control of the data that is collected.*[11]

All the English translations in this dissertation are done by the author unless otherwise stated.

1 Morottaja, Kuuva & Olthuis, 139; Lehtola 2012, s. 30,43; Lehtola 2015; 13
2 Pieski & Harlin 2020, 67
3 Sämediggi
4 Sämediggi
5 Sämediggi
6 Sämediggi
7 Finke and Sökefeld 2018,1
8 ILO No.169
9 Steeves 2018
10 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 308
11 Kuokkanen 2002, 2

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Picture 1.3 Čohkiideapmi – Falling Shawls by Outi Pleski in Espoo Museum of Modern Art, Finland 12.9.2018 – 6.1.2019

1.2.1 ARRANGEMENT

My dissertation consists of two parts. The first, written part, is the main body of the dissertation and it actively contributes to the second part: a site analysis and a concept level design work for my chosen building typology.

In the written part, I will cover the story of Anarâš people and the current situation with the Anarâškielâ and Anarâš culture. I want to explore the reasons leading to the decline of the language and the measures and challenges that the community faces in the effort to revitalize it. My user base is fairly complex as my building typology is a mixed-use. I hope, with a building which includes both a language nest and elderly care facilities, I will also be able to create a deeper narrative about community, space and meaning in an Saami context. Choosing Anarâš people as the client base and situating the building in Aanaar are conscious parameters in outlining my topic for this dissertation.

As a part of my dissertation, I have carried out a few informal conversations with the staff, who are community members, about how the language nests work in Aanaar. Similarly, I have talked to a couple of the older community members about future living situations. All the people who I talked to lived in Aanaar. I have included these conversations into the written part of my diploma work. These interviews did not form the bulk of my research but act more as a reference point on the practical ideas around the type of a building I am designing.

I have organized my written topics in such a way that they start from me looking into who are Anarâš people and their culture in the past and present. I also go through the concept of language nest and elderly care in Aanaar. I then look into learning, the Saami relationship with places and the role of community in Saami culture.

I also write about what colonization means in Finland and architecture. Going forward in my research, I investigate the Indigenous architecture and how meaning can be created in an Indigenous and indeed in a Saami building. At the end of my written section I look into to how architecture is political. I then explore the Indigenous architecture's role in environmental issues. I finish the written section with my thoughts on Saami architecture.

1.2.2 DEMARCATION

My design processes excluded the political organizations of the Aanaar area. Both the Sämitigge or the Aanaar Municipality have not been actively included by me to be part of this project based on the fact that during my work neither was the principal parties in organizing the language nest or Saami elderly care as the Aanaar municipality has no elderly care organized solely around Saami cultures and the language services are integrated within the general care. Naturally, I have taken into consideration the county's strategies for the elderly and young.

The language nest system seems to be going through an organizational change. Up until now the nests have been private childcare units, where the Aanaar municipality has been buying the language nest services from the Anarâškielâ Servi ry.[13] The Servi has been responsible for the language nests since their opening in 1997. It focuses on the activities around the language and it is not a political organization as such. It publishes a regular magazine in Anarâškielâ called Anarâš and it is also involved in language technological work alongside Tromsø University.

1.2.3 WAS.IS.ALWAYS RESEARCH PROGRAM

The written part of my dissertation is constructed around Indigenous Design Charter[14] which was launched in 2017 during the World Design Summit in Montreal, Canada. The charter was borne out of a series of workshops produced by the Deakin University in Australia. Nordic Indigenous Research Program Was.Is.Always: South to North held four workshops in November 2016 at Greenland House Research in Copenhagen, Denmark, Ilisimatusarfik - University of Greenland in Nuuk, Greenland, Jonkoping University Research Group in Jokoping, Sweden and in Copenhagen School of Design and Technology (KEA) in Copenhagen, Denmark.

The workshops had contributors from different institutions and Indigenous communities. In the Jokoping workshop out of four contributors, one was a Saami person from Sweden. In the KEA workshop out of the five contributors, two were Saami people from Norway and one was an Inuk from Greenland. None of the Saami people present were from the Finnish part of the Sápmi.

Out of the panel members on the International Indigenous Design Charter discussion, which was held as a part of the World Design Summit in 2017, there were no Saami or Inuit people present in the panel. Especially Saami people are absent from of the discussion when, comparing to the workshops in Greenland House Research and in the University of Greenland, where every local contributor, 19 in total, was an Inuk person. The lack of Saami people present in the development of this charter is shocking. Not one institution within the Sápmi contributed to the Was.Is.Always: South to North project. This left me wondering what is going on in Sápmi design practices and how the international Indigenous dialogue is percieved within them.

The charter produced a document with 10 different protocols on sharing Indigenous knowledge in professional design practices. I will be reflecting my topics on this charter in my texts.

1.2.4 THE GLOBAL CONTEXT OF INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE

Internationally, the Indigenous design practices have gone through some formalization in the past 20 years. I want to set out some of the organizational background involving different architectural Indigenous communities. There are a variety of different organizations, social media accounts and networks which are providing information and connections for Indigenous practitioners and non-indigenous parties in relation to design work.

American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers (AICAE)[15] was established in 1970s. AICAE is a non-profit organization.

> *'AICAE promote the development of American Indians in the professions of architecture and engineering and to encourage the training and licensing of greater numbers of American Indians in these professions.'*

AICAE produced a design manual for the National Endowment of the Humanities to assist architects and engineers in incorporating cultural values and customs in their work for Indigenous communities. AICAE holds an annual conference and it has over 200 members. In the United States also the Indigenous architectural students have started to organize themselves. In Yale School of Architecture Indigenous Scholars of Architecture, Planning and Design (ISAPD)[16] was established in 2018.

In 2007, International Indigenous Design Network (INDIGO)[17] was established as a part of International Council of Design (ICoD) and is now run by the Deakin University. The work of the design charter is related to the work of INDIGO. The website of Indigo states the following:

> *'INDIGO acts as a meeting place to share knowledge and discuss methods relating to the ethical and appropriate representation of Indigenous culture in communication design practice. This open and expansive global platform connects both Indigenous and non-Indigenous designers worldwide to respectfully share knowledge and explore the contemporary interpretation of traditional design.'*

Similarly, The Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC) has released a four point best practices protocol on designing with Indigenous communities.[18] The four I's[19], as they are named by ArchDaily, are based on case studies and presentations held on the RAIC International Indigenous Architecture and Design Symposium which was held in May 2017. The four objectives are as follows:

Project Initiation (Initiation);
Co-Design Process (Identity);
Building Process (Involvement); and
Outcomes (Impact).

In the International Indigenous Architecture and Design Symposium in 2017[20], the topic was 'Reconciliation, Place-making and Identity'. An important point leading to the birth of the synopsium was the launch of RAIC's Indigenous Task Force[21] in 2016 as part of RAIC's Festival of Architecture.

> *'The Task Force seeks ways to foster and promote Indigenous design in Canada, is chaired by Dr. Patrick Luugigyoo Stewart (Nisga'a), MRAIC and has over 30 members who represent Indigenous practitioners, non-Indigenous practitioners, Academics, interns and students. - The Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and the ITF alike believe strongly that Architecture is a public-spirited profession with an important role in reconciliation – addressing injustices by giving agency back to Indigenous people.'*

In 2018, The Venice Architecture Biennial saw an exhibition called The Unceded: Voices of the land[22], curated by architect Douglas Cardinal and wholly constructed by 18 Indigenous architects and designers. This work was directly inspired by the 2017 International Indigenous Architecture and Design Symposium. The architectural

Picture 1.4 International Indigenous Design Charter. 10 step best practise protocols.

practice in Canada is going through a pretty exciting moment in the way Indigenous agenda is discussed as a part of the professional field.

In Aotearoa New Zealand during 2006, Māori professionals came together in order to produce a draft on National Māori Cultural Landscape Strategy.[23] These protocols were the Māori response to the Ministry for Environment's New Zealand Urban Design Protocol, which focused on developing better urban design in New Zealand. The document recognizes seven principles: context, character, choice, connections, creativity, custodianship and collaboration. The Māori protocols are based around the Māori cultural values and principles of

mana (authority);
whakapapa (names and naming);
taiao (environment);
mauri tu (environmental health) ;
mahi toi (creative expression) ;
tohu (cultural landscape); and
ahi kā (living presence).

> *'The purpose of this strategy is to support local tribes to demonstrate cultural approaches and perspectives regarding how to manage and build on the land. It provides an opportunity for local tribes to engage and contribute to projects. This enables them to develop relationships with authorities and developers and designers. Local tribes can share narratives and knowledge about the surrounding environment to influence design and inform others how to*

function within their area effectively.'

The New Zealand Urban Design Protocol was developed by the Ministry for the Environment in conjunction with the Urban Design Advisory Group. Aotearoa New Zealand, and similarly Australia has a well-established discussion around Indigenous architecture. Both countries have already built examples on how the Indigenous design protocols are used as a part of the state and general architectural field.

1.2.5 SAAMI CONTEXT

Within the context of Saami architecture, there is no broad consensus or protocol offered for the Indigenous architectural work in the Sápmi, the Nordic countries or around the Arctic Regions. Because of this, I have looked into the Indigenous counterparts elsewhere in the globe. I want to bring Saami architecture and architects into the conversation around international Indigenous architecture.

Even though the design charter document is produced as a part of an organization which focuses on communication design, I think all the aspects discussed in it are also relevant to architectural design.

The ten different sections in the charter document form the backbone for my table of contents. Even though I am not following the order of the sections as listed in the charter, but rather I have organized each section to fit the flow of the topic I am discussing, which is Saami architecture through my building typology.

My ambition for this dissertation is that the Indigenous architectural processes and the Saami identity of my building can be interpreted through my written texts. I feel there are no fully formed answers I am able to give in regards of Indigenous Saami architecture, but I hope my text will provide a fruitful base for what will be an in-depth discussion around Saami architecture and design protocols in the future.

13 Anarâškielâ Servi ry 2021
14 Kennedy, Kelly, Greenaway and Martin 2018
15 AICAE 2021
16 ISAPD 2021
17 INDIGO 2021
18 RAIC 2021
19 Abdallah 2018
20 IIADS 2021
21 Indigenous Task Force 2021
22 Sandals 2018; Kassam 2018
23 Surkan and RAIC staff 2017, 16

Picture 1.5 The Northern Lights Theatre during the Skábmagovat Indigenous Film Festival in Aanaar.

1.3 SAAMI PEOPLE

Picture 1.6 Last light.

1.3.1 WHO ARE SAAMI?

Saami people are the Indigenous people of Europe. Their home areas spread across northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia.[24] There are nine different Saami languages being spoken today. In Finland, three Saami languages can be identified. North Saami is the most predominantly spoken Saami language in Finland, with an estimated 2000 speakers. Dialects of North Saami are spoken also in Norway and Sweden and the number of speakers adds up to 17,000 people across the border. Skolt Saami language has around 300 speakers and Anarâškielâ has estimated 350 speakers.[25] Traditional Saami livelihoods have been based around reindeer herding and fishing as well as foraging, small scale farming and hunting.[26] Up until the Second World War many Saami lived as part of the northern wilderness in relative isolation. Many families moved depending on season.[27]

1.3.2 DEMOGRAPHICS

Getting conclusive data on Saami demographics is challening. How you conclude who is Saami - what parts make up a person's Saami identity and what markers make up the group identity are complicated to determine.

Sämitigge in Finland has a register on Saami people who are eligble to vote by law. This list gives an indication on the size of the Saami community in Finland. However, not all people who identify themselves as Saami are included on the voting register.[28]

Another way to examine statistics on Saami people in Finland is to look at how many people speak Saami as their mother language. However, this is not an accurate representation of the size of the community, as the Finnish state does not currently allow people to enter more than one language as their mother language in their system. Most Saami people in Finland do speak Finnish. At least in the smaller language groups, it is quite common for people to record their mother language as Finnish. Also, some Saami people speak more than one of the Saami languages, or they have another mother language all together. As it stands, not all people who consider themselves Saami speak a Saami language as their first language. However, it is considered absolutely essential that people do state their mother language as Saami, because it ensures services, support and money for the continuity of the languages. There has been discussion around the single language policy, and hopefully this policy will change in the future.[29]

Sämitigge estimates there are around 10,000 Saami people in Finland and that around 60% of them live outside Sápmi.[30] Most Saami people live in Norway, where a person is recognized as Saami if they have one great-grandparent who has spoken Saami as a home language.[31] The estimation of the number of Saami people living in Norway varies between 37,000 and 60,000.[32] Collectively, there are roughly 100,000 Saami people in the world. The Saami community in Sweden is around 14,000 - 36,000 people.[33]

1.3.3 IN MORE DETAIL

The Saami are not a single homogenous group of people. In addition to the language people speak, families come from different areas. Individual dresses, livelihoods and traditions are determined by the landscape people have lived in.[34] Finland has three prominent Saami languages, and people are often allocated into groups defined by the language they speak. Similarly, the traditional way of life a Saami person is tied to through family and their culture can determine in which group a person is seen to belong. Commonly, these cultural groups in Finland are referred to as the Skolt people, the lake or fishing Saami people of Aanaar, the hill or reindeer Saami people of Eanodat and Soabbat and the river Saami people of Deatnu.[35]

In Ohcejohka, reindeer herding on the hill area and river fishing, especially salmon fishing, around the river area have been crucial. Small farms and crofts around the River Deatnu had become the common way of life by the end of 1800s.[36] People in Ohcejohka have lived as a part of the Deatnu River, which is now a border river. Today, there are two different states on each side of the river but in reality, the river had two different sides with the same people living on both sides of it. The North Saami is still commonly spoken in the area.[37] Saami people from Eanodat were herding reindeer and living a fully nomadic life up until the Second World War. Eanodat reindeer herding was heavily affected by the border changes during the 19th century and because of this, some families moved over to the Soabbat area in northern Sodankylä, but eventually settling in Vuahču.[38] Skolt Saami people have been part of the Orthodox Church since the 1500s.[39] Their traditional livelihood was based around fishing and reindeer herding. Skolt Saami people were able to move to the Aanaar area from Russia after the Second World War when the Petchenga area was lost to Russia. When Skolt Saami were still living in the Petchenga area, they had quite a substantial amount of reindeer and good fishing waters. Their reindeer herding was greatly affected by the spallation of the traditional lifestyle caused by the new border in 1920, and by the war and immigration to Finland. Big parts of their herds were killed during the Winter and Continuing War. Skolt Saami settled in the Aanaar area, in the villages of Njellim and Če´vetjäu´rr.[40] Over the centuries, the lives of Saami people have been heavily affected by politics and the restructuring of the borders between Norway, Sweden, Russia and Finland.[41]

24 Magga & Ojalatva 2013, 17
25 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 23
26 SAO 2008, s. 27
27 Lehtola 2012, 409
28 Näkkäläjärvi & Aikio 2014; Torikka 2019
29 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 27-30; Valtonen 2019; Wesselin 2019; Torikka 2018; Rasmus 2018
30 Sämitigge
31 Sámidiggi p.3
32 wikipedia a
33 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 27
34 Lehtola 2012, 29-30
35 Lehtola 2008, 26; Nahkiaisoja 2016, 28-29; SAO 2008, 26
36 Lehtola, 2012, 37-40; Elo & Magga 2007, 37-38
37 Lehtola 2012, 74
38 Lehtola 2012, 169; Magga & Ojalatva 2013, 23, 96-97
39 Kolttakulttuurikeskus 2021
40 Magga & Ojalatva 2013, 79-81
41 May 1999, 125

in

Tuáris / Tuoris

I can see tiny figures in the distance moving through the marshland shrubs, bowing down in regular intervals like faithful servants to the hills in the horizon. Sitting down, the northern labrador tea branches come to my shoulders. The rain rises fast with a gust of wind and then as quickly it abates. Everything is wide open and the falling raindrops are relief after the heat of the day. Everything is still except the rain falling on me and it is so quiet I can hear the drops hitting the breathless lake surface. The sound reminds me of grasshoppers. I know my father is somewhere close by even though I cannot see him. I do not know exactly where I am, we took an unfamiliar way here. I am not worried as I am home. I sip away the rest of the tea, the dog near me has laid down in the rain too. The intoxicating smell of wet peatland hugs every inch of me. The ground seems to be fuming after the scorching day.

I take a long look at the lake, the scene I read, love and already know a little. I pick up my bucket and get back to work.

Jenni Hakovirta

PART 1

THE WRITTEN RESEARCH

Picture 2.1 Arrival of sunsets. Picture from the home-shore.

TOOVLÁŠ UÁPISOLMOOŠ

Kal tun lah ovddii náál.
Jieh tun lah ennuvgin muttum
kyevtlov ivveest.

Must lii-uv tust
kielâ muttum?
Mon kielânsun
tuu kolgâččij tiervâttiđ?

Indeed, you are like before.
You haven´t changed so much
in about twenty years.

But have you gone through
a language change?
In what language
should I greet you?

Kuobž-Saammâl Matti[1]

2.0 ANARÂŠ CULTURE

COMMUNITY SPECIFIC

Ensure respect for the diversity of Indigenous culture by acknowledging and following regional cultural understandings.

Designers need to develop a cultural awareness to recognise the sensibilities and diversities of each Indigenous culture. This includes acknowledging the diversity of Indigenous cultures as represented in urban, rural and remote communities. Designers need to understand they may only be given information or knowledge when the community has established trust and is prepared to share.

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 14, 31)

2.1 THE PEOPLE

The Anarâš families come from the areas around Lake Aanaar[2] and they are the Saami group only native to Finland. Today, the culturally significant areas are situated around these old home areas. The number of Anarâš people has been estimated never to have exceeded 1000 people.[3]

Historically, Anarâš people lived semi-nomadic lives. Families had winter and summer places which were not very far away from each other. Fishing was and still is an important part of the culture and people used to move seasonally because of it.[4] Towards the end of the 18th century many Anarâš people signed up as `new settlers'.[5] These types of contracts entitled people to tax reductions and rights to the land so people could keep practicing their traditional livelihoods. It has been partly to do with the community's fairly early coming to terms with land ownership which led to the fact that around 90 percent of the new farmsteads by the end of the 19th century had been established by local Saami.[6] Anarâš history has a very intimate relationship with the legislative development in the north.

Turnip and potato were already grown commonly in the Aanaar area before the Second World War. Families usually had a cow and a few sheep[7] People kept animals and collected hay for them from natural meadows in, for example, swampy areas as well as cleared meadows, while they still continued living their traditional lifestyle which included fishing and hunting.[8] Many Anarâš people had summer and winter places in use until the Second World War. Fishing remined an important part of life alongside the small homesteads, and the catches were preserved in salt then sold and traded for things. Anarâš people have traditionally had a strong connection to northern Norway. For example, berries and birds were taken to the northern seaside. The money earned was then spent on things like sugar and flour. The relationship between Aanaar and the Varanger area was important and close. Trading with the areas in Norway was the main way of purchasing goods for the people of Aanaar up until the second half of the 20th Century. This close contact has even been said to reflect on the traditional clothing, since the **mááccuh** in both places is somewhat similar.[9]

Anarâš people have been apt hunter-gatherers. Wild reindeer was important prey in the Aanaar area until its extinction in the end of 19th century.[10] The numbers of reindeer Anarâš families used to keep were small.[11] Reindeer were important so people could move around and transport things during the snowy time. When the new northern border was put into place in mid 1850s, it disturbed the North Saami herders' yearly summer migration of the reindeer.[12] Suddenly, the mosquito-free sea side of northern Norway was not accessible. Some reindeer-herding families settled in Aanaar as it was familiar and there was plenty of food for reindeer. They brought with them a more substantial way of reindeer herding. Hence, some Anarâš families also started to keep a larger number of reindeer. The arrival of the North Saami families increased the total number of Saami people in the area. Until the mid-19th century, the Aanaar area had a population that was 95% Anarâš. By 1940, Saami people as whole accounted for only 30% of the population.[13]

In many ways, Anarâš people have been the invisible Saami and their culture has not been as well studied by the Finnish academics as other Saami groups.[14] Anarâš culture has been adaptive and quiet which has led to it being seen as completely assimilated into the Finnish culture, even though this has not been true. Anarâš people have been described as respectful and polite people with a strong sense of obedience to authorities.[15]

2.2 THE LANGUAGE

There have been a few events in recent history which have had a significant effect on the declining of the Anarâškielâ. The Spanish flu during January of 1920 had a dramatic impact on the people of Aanaar. Around 10% of the population died during the pandemic, most of them working-age Anarâš parents. Many children were forced to relocate to orphanages run by Finnish-speaking people, and so lost their ability to use and pass on their mother language.[16] The experience and effects of Spanish flu were traumatic to Aanaar and I, like many others, have grow up with stories about whole households succumbing to the flu and cold weather .

The evacuation to the south of Finland during the Second World War was for many Saami people, especially to the more secluded reindeer herders, the first experience of the agricultural life of the southern Finnish people. This had a strong impact on people and on the rebuilding of the burned north after the Second World War. This created conditions where many Saami speaking parents developed strong enough Finnish skills to begin passing the language to their children instead of their Saami language.[17]

A primary school was built in Aanaar in 1900. In the 1920s, education became compulsory, so inaddition to the historical events, the start of this fixed schooling meant that all children had to attend school instead of the traveling **catechist** teaching which in the remote north was often conducted by local people and in a Saami language. The last migrating school finished in Aanaar in 1954. The School Act ('people's school / kansa koulu') came into effect in the 1946.[18] As schooling was then extended to eight years, long periods of dormitory living became the reality for most children in Finland. This new school life had a devastating effect on many Saami children. Distances were long between home and school and cultural differences between the children and the staff were sometimes severe. Living in dormitories and attending Finnish speaking schools led to more persistent exposure to the Finnish language. Partly because of this, children who had previously spoken Saami at home when they returned from school now spoke Finnish with their parents at home. [19] The school and dormitory living is a difficult chapter in Saami history. Generally, Saami languages were thought to be useless in the context of the wider world, and also within the communities themselves. The Anarâškielâ was seen to soon die out. At the time, the road to success and education in the south was not achieved by speaking a Saami language.[20]

It is also thought that marriage have had an effect on the passing of the Saami languages. While Anarâškielâ was the predomined language in the Aanaar area, in a marriage the spouse from outside the Anarâš community was expected to adop the culture and even learned to speak the language. However, after Finnish became the more common language in the area, it was expected that in marringe to a Finnish person, family language would be Finnish. If both North Saami and Anarâškielâ were spoken in a family, many times Anarâškielâ was dropped in favor of North Saami.[21]

Even though Anarâš people have historically spoken multiple languages, it is worth mentioning that generally speaking, the positive attitude towards bilingualism which is supported today is a relatively new view on child rearing.[22] Throughout the world, learning to speak more than one language has not been always desirable, especially when the power relationship between the languages has been that of the state and a minority group. For example, in terms of Māori people, a Fulbright scholar had this to say in the 1960s about bilingualism:

> *'It is widely believed by both Māori and Pākehā alike that bilingualism is one of the major factors responsible for the language and intellectual retardation of the Māori pupil and his relatively poor performance in school.'*

It was thought that in order to become fluent in English you should not speak Māori. Between 1900-1960, language proficiency in Māori-speaking primary school entries went from 90% to 26%.[23]

In Oulu University, Saami language became a major subject in 1982. Oulu University is still the only university in Finland to offer a degree with a major in Saami languages. Today, Anarâškielâ is taught in the Giellagas Institute in Oulu University.[24] In 2007, Marja-Liisa Olthuis received her PhD and was the first Anarâš person to debate **her doctoral thesis** in Anarâškielâ. In the same year, Anarâš rapper Amoc (Mikkâl Morottaja) released a rap album called **Kaccâm** in Anarâškielâ.

An important figure in the Anarâš community has been Amoc's father Kuobž-Saammâl Matti (Matti Morottaja), who has been an advocate for Anarâš language and culture. In 1992, he was the

Cathecist is a teacher of the principles of Christian religion, especially one using a catechism. Catechism is very central to the principal teachings of Lutheran Church.

Olthuis, Marja-Liisa. (2007). *Inarinsaamen lajinnimet - Lintujen ja sienten kansannimitysten historiaa ja oppitekoisten uudisnimien muodostuksen metodiikkaa (Species names in Inari Saami: A history of the popular names of birds and mushrooms and methods for creating new names for species).* Anarâškielâ Servi ry

AMOC. (2007). *Kaccâm.* Tuupa Records.

1 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013. Traslation by Olthuis and Kivelä.
2 Nahkiaisoja, 2016, 64-68
3 Jefremoff 2001, 8-9, 30-56; Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 25-26
4 Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 58; Lehtola 2015, 105; Nahkiaisoja 2016, 61-63; Pasanen 2015, 82
5 Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 72-73; Nahkiaisoja 2016, 110-113
6 Nahkiaisoja 2016, 94-95, 114-116; Lehtola 2015, 68; Jefremoff 2001, 9-16, 18
7 Magga & Elo 2007, 52-53
8 Nahkiaisoja 2016, 105, 160
9 Jefremoff 2001, 59-136; Lehtola 2015, 15
10 Nahkiaisoja 2016, 93
11 Lehtola 2012, 141-144
12 Lehtola, 2015, 39, 70-72
13 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 25
14 Lehtola 2015, 105-107
15 Lehtola 2012, 44
16 Lehtola 2012, 197-199; Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 31-32
17 Pasanen 2015, 92-95; Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 32; Lehtola 2012, 370-387
18 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 32
19 Pasanen 2015, 87-92 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 31-34
20 Pasanen 2015, 171, 187-188
21 Lehtola 2012, 48
22 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 32

first person to write in Anârâš magazine about the language nest operation in Če´vetjäu´rr and in Aotearoa New Zealand.[25] He is an author, social activist and politician. Together with Veikko Aikio and Uccpárnáá Vuoli Ilmar (Ilmari Mattus) he was a founding member of the Anarâškielâ Servi ry in 1986.[26]

Anarâškielâ has a written grammar. In Avveel you are able to study the language in high school and take it as a Baccalaureate exam at the end of your high school studies.[27] It is not possible to conduct other Baccalaureate exams subjects in Anarâškielâ. Since 2000, children have been able to go through primary school classes fully in Anarâškielâ in Aanaar School.[28] Children can also study the language as a subject if they go to a Finnish speaking class. All these things have become reality rather recently and should by no means be taken for granted. There is still a lack of qualified teachers, carers and professionals who can speak the language.[29]

In the language revitalization work, it has become evident that ensuring working-age people are efficient in the language is central, because there is a generational gap in the speakers of the language and because a living language needs to be used communally by different age groups. The Sámi Education Institute in Aanaar currently offers an year-long intensive course in Anarâškielâ and Anarâš culture.[30]

23 May 1999, 71
24 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 134-136
25 Pasanen 2015, 120
26 Pasanen 2015, 102-112
27 Magga & Ojalatva 2013, 17
28 Olthuis 2008
29 Keskitalo 2010, 212-213
30 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 35-48,137

Picture 2.2 Coffee break in Savzâsuálui (Lammassaari).

2.3. WHOSE CHILD ARE YOU? DO YOU SPEAK SAAMI?

2.3.1 SAAMI NATION

I understand it might seem like what I am talking about has little to do directly with the building design itself. However, I have a desire to underline, twice if possible, how Saami reality is not built out of separate issues but rather, it is like a fabric. Unweave one thread and you will create a hole or at least an ugly mark. When the topic of Saami architecture beginnig to unravel, so too will the communities the built environment is made for. For the architectural process to be sophisticated, it has to involve a deeper analysis on Saami issues.

Anarâš people exist as a part of a wider Saami context. Saami people have been seen as a separate group of people from the state of Finland, Sweden and Norway throughout the written history, but it was the ethnopolitical movement during the 1950s and the 1960s which created and established the idea of one coherent Saami group. This is when the notion of a Saami person became a universally understood norm. In 1971, a Saami conference was held in Jiellevárri, and the documents produced in this event recorded a strong narrative about Saami people as a nation.[31]

Saami peoples' official position exists through their Indigenous status, and as such, nationhood does not have the same kind of sovereignty as other nations have among each other. However, the Indigenous status allows Saami to be seen as a nation rather than a minority. The notion of nationhood is important in the way it forces others to regard you. Through nationhood the experience of being Saami also homogenized. The Saami identity recieved different symbols, for example the flag, and a national song, as well as, a single home area with their own institutions and media. Existing as a nation is a result of the global Indigenous movements, modernization, a better standard of living and education as well as a counter-reaction to the difficult and repressing effects of changes brought to Saami people by progression.[32] The resurgence of language and culture are seen as an important part of the political construction of the Saami nation and becoming a nation has been central in keeping the Saami culture alive.[33]

In order to understand the dynamics of how a small group of people fit into this wider public, there has to be an understanding about how a Saami identity is formed and how the community sees the qualities of their Indigeneity as a part of it. Language has everything to do with this. It is a very strong common definer in Saami life, while it is also something which separates different groups of Saami from each other and indeed, from the general Finnish speaking population. Language unifies people but it also divides.[34]

Regardless, I would say that for every Saami person, even if they do not speak a Saami language, the continuity of language is considered to be the most important part of the Saami culture. Languages are today actively supported and promoted throughout the Saami nation.[35]

2.3.2 SAAMI ETHNICITY

Ethnicity is complicated and it could be considered artificial. It is not an easy topic to cover, but especially in terms of Anarâš people, it is a relevant conversation to have. Valkonen sums up a view of Saami ethnicity by Pääkkönen, where he sees its content changing. Yet, Pääkkönen also notes the traditional and new livelihoods, family context and language as an important carrier of cultural meaning. Intangible tradition, different material symbols of culture, deep relationship with place, mutual interaction systems and special rights are a part of the Saami ethnicity.

Ethnicity is created by parameters which are refined by people and it is actively political. As a term, ethnicity is often only attached to minority groups and so works as part of the narrative on 'the other'.[36] Ethnicity does not necessarily mean simply biological attributes in the Saami context. A person who is through their birth 'biologically' a Saami person can still be seen as ethnically Finnish.[37] Saami people recognize each other and themselves as Saami through their blood relations - their relatives and their family. Regardless of their personal journey on growing up to be a Saami person through the cultural context of your life, you are born to be Saami. Because of this, today a Saami person can be seen to exist even without an active link to their culture, just through their birth. It is not commonly seen possible for a person to become a Saami person without these familial relations. However, adopted children are Saami.[38]

The idea of 'pure' Saami people and 'true' Finnish people are constructs propagated by of the Finnish high class during the start of the 19th century, and the thought pattern includes the misconception of weaker Saami people assimilating into the strong Finnish nation.[39] Even though genetics are occasionally mentioned, it is not collectively considered a way to measure the quality of your 'Sámi-ness' or Indigeneity. Historically, there has not been a need or expectation for Saami people to present any physical data on their 'blood quantity'.[40]

Cultural elements can be used as a static part of ethnicity which maintain the similarity in a group.[41] Saami ethnicity is usually talked about as a general term, which deals with Saami as one collective group. To me, the Anarâš narrative is part of the backbone of this dissertation, so the Anarâš view on ethnicity, past and present, would be relevant to this dissertation if research on the topic was available.

The near extinction of Anarâškielâ is normally discussed as a part of a academic study researching history, the revitalization work and linguistics. It is not usually discussed as a part of the narrative of the Saami nation. Collective trauma can be difficult to externalize and understand if it is not part of your own reality. However, to the Anarâš reality this is central. Language is part of culture and so it is an important part of the conversation about ethnicity - especially if it is brought into the discussion about politics, which it quite naturally wants to do.[42]

A Saami person who actively learns or strengthens their knowledge of a Saami language is not simply Anarâš feature. I do not think the question of the recognition in Saami politics has been discussed after analyzing changing factors of language use very often. However, this conversation is a part of the collective Saami reality.

31 Valkonen 2009, 62-63, 67-74; Pääkkönen 2008, 156-160
32 Valkonen 2009, 74-83, 176
33 Valkonen 2009, 70-71, 103
34 Lehtola 2012, 29-30 Valkonen 218
35 Valkonen 2009, 243-246
36 Pääkkönen 2008, 57-62; Valkonen 2009, 114-118
37 Valkonen 2009, 115-116
38 Valkonen 2009, 217-221
39 Lehtola 2012, 41
40 Indian Affairs 2021, Adams 2011
41 Valkonen 2009, 217
42 Pääkkönen 59, Valkonen 2009, 235-236

History has not treated any of the Saami languages fairly. From my point of view, for many Anarâš families their relationship with the parameters of the Saami ethnicity has changed multiple times in a relatively short period of time as their relationship with their language, community and culture has changed.

Looking for membership in the legal Saami society solely by basing your Saami descendancy too far back in the family tree is problematic. Importantly, as a Saami person becomes part of an ethnic group through familial relations, it is one's family which is recognized as a Saami through their culture: spoken language, reindeer herding, fishing or even their way of life during the existence of siidas.[43]

Ethnicity has a dimension in relation to time and the social structures, that I see as a part of space and community. The group which acknowledges you as a member could be very community-specific, however in Saami nation, this process is currently decided by Sämitigge. It asks a lot from a political body, in terms of recognizing what 'multifaceted' means in realtion to a group of people. I would say that regardless of how relevant Saami people see their own ethnicity, it is still closely followed and by no means a straightforward issue. One's Saami membership does comes with its own disputes, such as questioning membership, which also happens internally.

2.3.3 SAAMI GOVERNANCE

I am discussing the Sämitigge here because of its political power. Architecture involves itself closely with legislation and practical relationships. It is also relevant to me to understand the political situation as a part of what 'community-specific' means in Indigenous architecture. It is nearly impossible to exist as a Saami person today without having any mental or physical ties to the Saami nation. However, it is possible to exist without a legal status through the Saami government. A Saami person can quite comfortably have no links to the Saami parliamentary process. The Sämitigge does not validate, in that sense, anyone's right to be Saami.

Sämitigge does not come without its own controversies. Kuokkanen, for example, has criticized the way Sämitigge as an organization reflects Saami values as Saami people adopted a foreign system as their own system of governance. The operation of the parliament does not reflect the way Saami communities used to organize themselves throughout their cultural and legal history.[44] Historically, in Aanaar, people lived as part of the Siida system until the 18th century.[45] According to Lehtola:

> *'The traditional siida, or as it is referred sometimes as 'lapp village/lapinkylä', forms the base for the governance of Saami society. Siida was both a village which took care of the village business, as well as, an area which a Saami group had a right to live on and 'use'. Siida usually contained specific areas that were carefully defined. The idea of 'wondering lapps' is not correct. Saami life was a life of movement but it had its own well known boundaries. The different States recognized and respected these areas and the right people had for them until the 18th century.'*[46]

However, today Saami people in Finland, Sweden and Norway have their separate parliaments.

> *'The Sámi Parliament is the supreme political body of the Sámi in Finland. It is an independent legal entity of public law which, due to its self-governmental nature, is not a state authority or part of the public administration. The Sámi Parliament functions under the administrative sector of the Ministry of Justice. The Sámi Parliament represents the Sámi in national and international connections, and it attends to the issues concerning Sámi language, culture, and their position as an indigenous people. The Sámi Parliament can make initiatives, proposals and statements to the authorities. The 21 members, and 4 deputies, are elected from among the Sámi every four years. The most recent elections were conducted in autumn 2019. Due to its representative nature, the Sámi Parliament expresses an official view of the Sámi in Finland on the issues concerning them. The Plenum, a full-time chair, and an Executive Board are the main organs of the Sámi Parliament. The Sámi Parliament appoints committees to prepare issues. The operation of the Sámi Parliament is funded by the state.'*

The work across the borders in Sápmi is achieved through the Sámi Parliamentary Council (SPC). This organization is central in the United Nation Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. The highest decision-making governmental body in it is the Saami Conference, which includes Saami parliamentarians and is held every three years.[47]

In Finland, people apply to be on the voting record for the Sämitigge elections. By being accepted to the record, a Saami person will have the right to run in the election and to vote in them. A person has to first and foremost self-identidy as a Saami person. Essentially this is a part of a permission given so that one can be placed on a list based on an ethnicity.[48] The cultural self-governance of Saami people was established in Finland in 1996, however the content of the law is the product of a long and rather intricate process.[49] Saami committee was formed in 1949 and from the beginning the task of defining a Saami person was adopted as the main initiative. Two different perspectives were discussed, where '*the traditional Saami way of recognizing a person through their language*' was one option and another suggestion was' *the way recognition was done in the Indigenous communities in North America where a person was recognized as one of their own by their community.*'[50]

The committee opted to use language as the dominant definition of group identity. Around the same time, the committee also agreed on the use of the term Saami. The word Lapp started to disappear from common use by the Finnish-speaking population as it had negative connotations and to the Saami speaking population, using the word Saami was meaningful because it is how people identified themselves in their own language. It was not until the 1980s, however, that Saami became a common term in the Finnish language instead of Lapp. Saami people still speak in Finnish sometimes about 'lapin kieli, lapintakki, lapinpuku or lapin ihminen'. Generally speaking calling someone a Lapp/lappalainen is offencive.[51]

The three legal criterion written in the law are:

> *Section 3 — Definition of a Sámi*
>
> *For the purpose of this Act, a Sámi means a person who considers himself a Sámi, provided:*
>
> *(1) That he himself or at least one of his parents or grandparents has learnt Sámi as his first language;*
>
> *(2) That he is a descendant of a person who has been entered in a land, taxation or population register as a mountain, forest or fishing Lapp; or*
>
> *(3) That at least one of his parents has or could have been registered as an elector for an election to the Sámi Delegation or the Sámi Parliament.*[52]

Language is viewed as a part of tradition in the Saami discourse. However, there were several different Saami realities running alongside each other throughout the course of the 20th century.[53] Valkonen writes in her book how during the Saami political awakening of the 50s and 60s, the being a Saami and the place of the Saami was constructed and determined. She wrote an excellent article titled *'Conceptual Governance on Defining Indigeneity – the Sámi Debate in Finland'*.[54] The development of the Saami ideal was not an accidental. Instead, it was produced through a process that people actively contributed to.

While the separate histories and drastic changes in different Saami communities were unraveling, the coherent reality of the nation of Saami people was formed. When the role of language and land rights is discussed in terms of political movements, it is usually focused around the Saami and '**the local people**'.

local people What at the first place largely motivated this mobility was local people's fear of losing their rights to their traditional land-use and way of life, especially if the ILO Convention no. 169 will be ratified (see Valkonen 2017, 214). The traditional livelihoods of the Sámi and other local people are in some cases comparable. - The Lappness became a publicly and politically desired identity only after its legal categorisation as a possible criterion of indigeneity. After 1995 the term started to be systematically used as public self-identication of a political movement that opposed the language-based definition of legal Sámi and Indigenous subjects. (Valkonen 2019, 149)

43 Valkonen 2009, 236-237
44 Valkonen 2009, 153
45 Eriksen, Valkonen & Valkonen 2019, 76-79
46 Lehtola 2015, 37
47 Sämitigge a 2021
48 Eriksen, Valkonen & Valkonen 2019, 147
49 Lehtola 2012, 424 Valkonen 2009, 66
50 Eriksen, Valkonen & Valkonen 2019; Lehtola 2012, 422-441
51 Lehtola 2012, 27-28, 423
52 Perustuslaki 17 § 3
53 Lehtola 2012, 446-453
54 Valkonen 2009, Eriksen Valkonen & Valkonen 2019

Picture 2.3 Calm Lake Muddus. View towards Savzâsuálui (Lammassaari).

Anarâš people by all means are the local people of Aanaar. They do not have a fully nomadic history to tell, so their agenda as people is not completely removed from the Lapp movement's - or *the local people's*, claim to land. Anarâš people have gone through their own crisis in terms of their language. How Saami or Lapp perspectives are perceived through the Anarâš reality is not discussed anywhere. Yet, the Anarâš culture did not end, the Anarâš people did not disappear and Anarâškielâ did not die, even though they have without a doubt suffered, changed and adapted. If tradition is part of the language politics, it should be also investigated and discussed thoroughly as a part of the Indigenous Saami discourse. What I suspect is that the catastrophic loss of language has had its own effect in the way the local Saami politics in Aanaar have developed. As Valkonen notes:

> *'This movement was set up by local people who did not fill the language criterion of the Sámi definition, in many cases were not previously categorised as belonging to the local Sámi (Lapp) communities, but who had tax Lapp or Sámi ancestors.'* [55]

The processes of communally reclaiming the relationships one has with a language is painstakingly slow and exceptionally difficult. I truly believe that as a nation, this narrative deserves to become part of the way we see ourselves as people.

2.3.4 POLITICS OF LANGUAGE

Today, by law, Saami person can become a part of the legal group through the basis of cultural continuity (1), descendancy (2) and/or birth (3). A strong argument has been made on language being the most important aspect in recognizing a Saami person, as it denotes a person is a continuous part of the Saami culture.[56] This viewpoint has for some time been pitted against the argument over descendancy.

The argument surrounding the definition of a Saami has been actively in the heart of Sämitigge politics for 30 years.[57] There is a huge divide, or as Valkonen discusses the issue, a competition, regarding how Saami people see the definition of their status. The descendent part of the law is based on the recognition of people being part of a place through their connection to land and family. In the language part, the recognition is done through varying the continuous cultural lineage through the ability to speak a language. The arguments over what is the most relevant way to look at this issue are vehement. It is made more complicated by the fact that these 'qualities' are seen through people's personal and individual situations. It is possible for a Saami person to be a descendent without an active link to their culture and it is also possible to exist through culture and language without being able to show any clear descendancy in relation to a place.[58] Unfortunately, these two perspectives have started to exclude each other.

Currently, the descedancy part of the Saami definition is seen as a threat by the majority of the elected members of the Sämitigge.[59] In theory, because there is no limit in how many generations back you can go to look for an Saami ancestor, this leaves an open venue for a Finnish person to apply for a legal Saami status based on a far-fetched Saami ancestor. With the language, its relevance is only looked at within the frame of three generations. Originally the descendancy part of the Saami law was based on strengthening today's Saami peoples ties to their siida.[60] The current legal definition of Saami is suspected to be part of an attemt to dismantle the real Saami culture. There is a genuine fear that too many people who are not Saami or Saami enough may enter the register and so:

> *'- Nullify the original objective of the Saami definition which is to protect the rights of the current Saami language population to their own language and distinctive cultural heritage.'* [61]

Some of the Saami politicians are very vocal about keeping the descendancy as a part of the legal definition of a Saami person, while most of the politicians want to remove this from the law and make it language and culture-based. Keskitalo, an elected member who wants to keep the definition open, commented the issue as follows before the election in 2019:

> *'Saami people cannot become a language minority which has no Saami roots. Saami people who have been entered in a land, taxation or population register have cultural rights, which have to be recognized as equal in Saami politics. I stand for a wider understanding of what being Saami means because we have history that cannot be tightly defined.'* [62]

In order for a Saami person to be entered into the electoral register, their application needs to pass through a committee made up of Saami people, which is formed within the Sämitigge. This committee reviews the application and makes the decision about the legal status. One simply apply by stating which part of the law is relevant to their case, quite literally a check box situation. This information is forwarded to the committee and based on it, a Saami person may be placed on the register, and so gains the right to practice their demogracy by voting.

This system reinforces Saami peoples' right to govern their own affairs as an Indigenous people, and they have the ablity to do so by recognizing their own. However, it also places a huge relevance on the decision-making in the committee. Politically and legally speaking, Sämitigge has little power outside this, because it does not, unfortunately, have the right to initiate any part of the Finnish legislation.[63] Who has the right to vote determines who should sit in the parliament and what decisions are made in Saami politics, where the political focus is, and eventually, who legally belongs and who does not. The same questions of power exist in the conversation about Saami Indigeneity as it does in other politics spheres.

It is very interesting to look at how the parliamentary forces are pushing the agenda on language. Just before the election of 2019, YLE published an article where the candidates were asked what they thought about the definition in the law, and 73% of the candidates were ready to abolish the descendancy in the law. Seven candidates openly stated that they wanted to keep descendancy as a part of the definition. In the election, out of these seven candidates, six were elected and out of these six, two got the highest number of votes in the whole election (Kari Kyrö won 220 votes and Anu Avaskari won 183 votes). Both Kyrö and Avaskari openly identify as Anarâš politicians. Kyrö and Avaskari are vocal supporters of not changing the definition in the law to language based. They were the two only 'opposition' politicians who made it into the top seven of highest number of votes in the election.[64]

When the new parliament was formed and alongside it, the new executive board, which has seven members was decided on, all but two of the board members were candidates who recieved the most votes in the elections.[65] The two people who recieved the highest number of votes in the whole election, Kyrö and Avaskari, were not included in the executive board. Instead, the board opted to include two other elected members: Juha-Petteri Alakorva who recieved 80 votes and Leo Aikio, who also became the second vice chair with 85 votes.[66] Both Alakorva and Aikio, according to the YLE article, support the removal of the descendant part of the law. Aikio said:

> *'The so-called 'lap criteria' is not a traditional way to recognize a person as a Saami.'* [67]

It is important to discuss if the Saami society should organize itself following the Western political tradition, or if the framework could be found from the historical way Saami society organized itself. It is also relevant to consider the definition of Saami person within the context of the law. The Sämitigge is ready to disregard the general Saami publics' vote, to form an executive board they want or indeed need. Language must have an important part to play in the way they see the Saami Indigeneity developing.

Language is at the center of the political battlefield, yet Sämitigge has not been the instigating force behind the revitalization of the Anarâškielâ. It has been Anarâš people, specifically Anarâškielâ Servi ry, which has done the work to save their own language. Avaskari and Kyrö do not represent the whole Anarâš community in their political views. Nevertheless, they are Anarâš politicians. Being from Aanaar and being Anarâš are two different things. Currently in the executive board there is not a single politician who wears the Anarâš dress, even though according to the election this should have been

55 Eriksen, Valkonen & Valkonen 2019, 149
56 Eriksen, Valkonen & Valkonen 2019, 146; Valkonen 2009, 156
57 Valkonen 2009, 156-157
58 Valkonen 2009, 155-169
59 Rasmus 2019
60 Valkonen 2009, 161-162
61 Näkkäläjärvi 2018
62 Rasmus 2019
63 Valkonen 2009, 181

the case. I see, this as highly relevant to Anarâš community. For the Anarâškielâ and Anarâš culture, any Anarâš politician who is present, is meaningful.

Sämitigge is subject to revision by the Finnish Supreme Administrative Court. If Sämitigge does not recognize a person as a Saami and the person does not agree with the decision, they have the right to inquire revision first from the committee. At this point, the person is able to present their case in more detail by writing a statement on who they are, where and of whom they come from and so on. If the decision is still negative, the applicant can take their case into the Supreme Administrative Court.

It has been arguedargued that the involvement of the Supreme Administrative Court violates Saami rights. According to Näkkäläjärvi:

> *'Finland had violated the political rights of the Indigenous people Sámi (as per UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). It was wrong for the Finnish Supreme Administrative Court to intervene in the 2011 and 2015 Sámi Parliament elections in Finland by giving 97 non-Sámi persons a right to vote – against the decision of the Sámi Parliament in Finland. Finland is breaking the political rights of the Indigneous people.'* [68]

Finland has not ratified the ILO169 agreement. The Indigenous status has a part in the conversation about land and who has the right to it and descedency is seen as a part of the discussion of the ILO 169 agreement.[69] The Aanaar area has for years been in the center of hard politics on forestry, new infrastructure, tourism and the rights of the reindeer herders regarding over-grazing and culture. It is not simply the conversation between the Finnish State and Saami nation on the use of the land that is central in the question; it is also the discussions between different Saami communities that needs to be agreed on. While land is life, the right to it is still power. It is naive to think that the definition of what constitutes Saami has nothing to do with this.

2.3.5 PLACING A MEMBERSHIP

> *'As lived experiences, arriving and displacing are incommensurable to the idea of Indigeneity and diaspora. If Indigeneity is associated with occuring naturally (as in particular place) and/or dwelling in place, diaspora is conversely imagined in terms of displacement and movement.'* [70]

The legal definition of Saami and the state of one's Indigeneity is relevant to me because it also affects the way membership and quality in Indigenous architecture is precieved. The politics of place are politics of space too. Even without the issues around money and decision-making, there is a deep conversation that needs to happen around all Saami places and culture that is attached to them.

> *'In knowing one's place via the flows of kinship structures, all relationships are acknowledged between human and nonhuman, including songs, land, ceremonies, winds, minerals, animals, tides, rocks and spirits, for 'they are components of a whole acting, responding to each other' - The land, and thus space, is alive; people are not separate from it, we are bounded to it through reciprocal relationships of care. Animals, and plants, as well as weather, terrain, songs, dances, are kin. They make us who we are, just as we make them who they are.'* [71]

I understand where the criticism toward the descendancy stems from in politics. It is a critical discussion that needs to happen. However, I feel there is a conversation around descedancy that is not surfacing because it has been so complytely interwebed with the political work of the Sämitigge.

International Indigenous architecture is community-specific and it actively **acnowledges people and places**. In the future, if Saami architecture wants to truly become a part of the discussion around Indigenous architecture, investigation into how we acknowledge places through traditional ownership is relevant. This is directly involved with the Indigenous discourse and place-making. I personally do not see language and Indigeneity which '*occur naturally (as in particular place)*' excluding each other. I think there is a very meaningful connection between the two.

To me, for the collective wellbeing, it is essential to discuss the relationship we have with our siidas, old and new, and through them, the connections we have with each other. This will involve understanding what descendancy means for our Indigeneity.

It is interesting to speculate who within the Saami communities will be visible. If traditional acknowledgement and recognition is not at all based on descendancy, how will we approach our places? Would people, when operating in Aanaar, acknowledge Anarâš people as the traditional owners of the land? Is it possible, if Anarâš community involves itself with members who do not speak the Anarâškielâ as their first language, or who speak it without an ethnic connection to Saami culture? Would a space be acknowledged through the collective Saami nation, and would we say then we are in Sápmi? Would Skolt villages be acknowledged individually because they have different systems in place? How deep our kinship flow goes? These are complicated questions and without a doubt will evoke emotional responses from people. However, these are discussions that, in terms of Indigenous architecture, would have to be shared and heard. They are also questions that fascinate me as an architect.

acknowledges peoples and spaces For example, *The International Indigenous Design Charter acknowledges the traditional owners of countries throughout the world and recognises their continuing connection to land, waters and culture. We pay our respects to their Elders past, present and emerging. The authors also acknowledge the Kulin Nation, the traditional owners of country where this document was developed.*

Similarly the book 'Our Voices' is hosted by Aotearoa New Zealand.

64 Rasmus 2019, YLE 2019
65 Sämetigge g 2021 a, YLE 2019
66 Sämetigge h 2021 b, YLE 2019
67 Rasmus 2019
68 Näkkäläjärvi 2018
69 Valkonen 2009,137-140
70 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 215
71 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 221

2.3.6 THE VALUE IN LANGUAGE

Outside the context of Anarâškielâ itself, the people have interactions with other Saami languages and with the predominant state languages.[1] The difference between a minority and an Indigenous language is how they are perceived through their relationship with a place. A minority language is spoken by a smaller group, in relation to a larger group of people, or it differs from the official state language.[2] An Indigenous language is tied to a place and a people through the culture of the area to which it belongs.[3] An Indigenous language represents a place as much as it does its people. Anarâškielâ is the language of Aanaar area. It is specifically its home. The name of places and people, species and words for specific weather and actions are all inherently bound to the culture and have huge value to people.[4] Indigenous language is not separate from place-making or even architecture. Gunvor talks about how naming places in Saami culture also tells a deeper story:

> *The use of an area is a social contract requiring interpersonal action. The names of bogs can sometimes give us an insight into the social contract. One example is "Elle áhku jeaggi". Why is a bog given such a name? The name tells us that Áhku Elle (grandmother Elle) made it her* ***vierru*** *to pick berries in that bog, and everyone accepted this, because she had bad legs and couldn't get the bogs further away. There is thus a story behind it which is contextual. But ethical attitudes are also revealed here, i.e. a woman with weak legs "gets" a swamp to help her survive (birget \ pirgiđ). Bjerkli describes the local population in Manndalen as having an understanding of how the area in Svartskogen is to be used and this use has changed over time according to needs (Bjerkli 1999, 187). Even though he does not use the term birget in his account of the traditions of the area, the knowledge of the use of the area is still related to the art of survival.*[5]

In Saami languages names have meaning. They refer to the person's family, way of life or place.[6] For instance, in the name Kuobž-Saammâl Matti, Kuobž refers to a bear. In this family, men have been skilled at hunting bears.[7] Similarly in music, especially in the tradition of luohti (yoik in English), singing is related to people, places and animals - whatever it is that needs to be yoiked. The singer does not sing a *juoiggalmas* about something, *they yoik someone or something and everything that relates to their subjects.*[8] In Anarâš tradition livđe is a similar type of singing, a tradition that was almost lost, where the singing subjects are related to people and animals. Skolt people sing Leu´dds but their singing tradition is built around much more narrative-based singing where they sing more about how people have lived.[9] Language is used in Saami traditions to weave memory and knowledge about people and places. *It is a map of the Saami reality.* [10]

I am concerned about where Anarâš people are left in the sometimes heated political arguments, as families trace their history over long periods of time to very specific areas in Aanaar. In reality, Anarâškielâ still maintains a strong relationship with the revitalization process. Anarâškielâ needs the connection to its home, like all Saami languages do, because they are part of the complex existence of a culture. The role of a language as a powerful group marker becomes apparent as it dictates how the membership is seen in the Saami nation and how it works as a part of the recognition process. The role of the language is obviously quite complex[11], and Aanaar as a place is a truly unique starting point in the conversation of Indigeneity of place and people. Aanaar is multicultural and has been for a long time. In terms of Anarâš people, their history - and with it their language - already has its individual position. Because of its size, the Anarâš community, in which I acknowledge both Anarâš people who speak and do not speak Anarâškielâ, has a distinct process of recognizing each other. This recognition remains possible dispite of considerable passage of time because of the connection to place and family that people maintain. Anarâškielâ also has a relationship with people who speak the language but are not tied to it by their families, culture or home areas. These people have been and still are crucial to the revitalization process.

Vierru *Turi uses vierru in a way which may be considered as tradition. But vierru can refer to a shorter period of time and thus allows for the view that things may change and that new traditions may be created. Vierru does not necessarily have continuity, but can be e.g. the particular habit of an individual.* (Porsanger & Guttorm 2011, 67)

2.3.7 CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE

The political direction of the Sämitigge will affect, both pysically and mentally, the decision-making power of the smaller language groups like Anarâškielâ which is still recovering from being close extinction. In terms of the ability and number of speakers, the language is not back to how it was 100 year ago. It is not realistic to expect damage which was done to a language in 100 years to be turned around in thirty. The language minorities in the Saami nation still fight to ensure that more children and families will be able to reconnect as well as stay connected with their languages. These processes take a huge amount of energy and they limit the time and focus people are able to spend on other issues.

To me, the relationship with words and the effecs of language loss are universally experienced - regardless of the language. However, when you think about, for example, Spanish as a minority language and the role it has, and has had, in the world and compare that to the position of Anarâškielâ, it becomes obvious that Spanish has a lot of speakers. There are only a few hundred people who currently speak Anarâškielâ and if these people are gone, the language and culture also disappear.[12] Some may ask what the point is in having a such a small language, it is this: Anarâškielâ has a value equal to any other language. It carries knowledge and meaning equal in value to any other language, this is not related to the amount of speakers.[13]

The knowledge about Saami people and their cultures is still often shaky at best. Anarâškielâ does not have an identical history when it is compared to North Saami.[14] I acknowledge that equality of the languages and the education people do receive in relation to each other are huge issues to concider about. However, I think it is healthy to discuss how people within the Saami communities precieve languages and the role they have in the collective Saami narrative, and how this reflects on the values and meanings attached to them. The movement of Anarâš people has been traditionally bound mostly to the Aanaar area, between tight networks of small communities who have developed in turn to the complex communities of today's local people. Anarâš people have regularly adapted their culture to the cultures of other Saami groups and to the Finnish state. Question about who the Anarâš people are and what role language and family plays in their community are valid when trying to understand what the Anarâš community represents today. Saami people are a collective entity, however this does not exclude the fact that naturally, different Saami communities face different challenges and have different cultural histories. This reflects on peoples' power. This consideration of how a group is borne has lead me onto how the recogniton happens between Saami groups. To me, it is here where the paradox of being Saami lies. You are part of something very specific, while you are also expected to represent something rather broad and comprehensive. If these two realities do not meet, the conflict within yourself can be painful and your existence can become rather confused.

I see this as relevant in relation to a building's identity. Buildings play an important role in Indigenous communities and in their futures. Because of this, an architect has a particular responsibility towards every community. A small language today has to fight for survival. For Anarâš people, this struggle is very hands-on and its success is a credit to a small group of people. Respecting this is part of the Indigenous architectural process.

1 Pasanen 2015, 315-328, 361-368
2 European Charter
3 UN assembly the rights of indigenous people s.3
4 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013,164-166
5 Porsanger & Guttorm 2011, 69
6 Nahkiaisoja 2016, 35-36
7 tarinoiden Inari 2021
8 Oktavuohta
9 Näkkäläjärvi-Länsman, Aikio
10 Lehtola 2015, 18
11 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 177-184
12 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 21
13 Lehtola 2015, 19
14 Pasanen 2015, 96-102, 379-384

if you ask me if I am fluent in Spanish
I will tell you my Spanish is an itchy phantom limb
it is reaching for words and only finding air

my Spanish is my 3rd birthday party
half of it is memory the other half is
that photograph on the fridge
is what my family has told me

my Spanish is puzzle left in the rain
too soggy to make its parts fit together
to look just like the picture on the box

my Spanish is possessive adjectives
it is proper nouns dressed in pearls and bracelets
it is are you up yet
it is there is a lot of work to do today

my Spanish is on my resume as a skill
my Spanish is on my toothbrush in red mouth marks
my Spanish is so hungry

my Spanish reaches for words at the top of a shelf
with no stepping stool
is hit in the head with all of the words
that I've been hiding up there

my Spanish wonders if it's bad to
eat something that's expired
my Spanish wonders if it has an expiration date

my Spanish asks you
why it's always being compared to food
a spicy hot sizzle

my Spanish wants to let you know it is not something to be
eaten and then shit out but does not really believe it

my Spanish
my Spanish

if you ask me if I am fluent in Spanish
I'll tell you my Spanish sits in the corner of a classroom
chewing on a pencil
does not raise its hand

my Spanish is my sister's sour smile at her
only beauty-pageant
my Spanish is a made-up story about a parent
who never came home

my Spanish is a made-up story about a parent
who never came home but traveled to beautiful countries
sent me postcards from all of them

my Spanish is me tracing every letter they were able to fit in
my Spanish is true story of my parents divorce
chaotic broken

something I have to choose to remember correctly
my Spanish is asking me if my parents are American
asking me if I'm white yet

my Spanish
my Spanish

if you ask me if I am fluent in Spanish
I'll try to tell you a story of
how my parents met in an ESL class

how it was when they trained their mouths
to say I love you in a different language
I hate you with their mouths shut

I'll tell you how my father's accent makes him sound like Zorro
how my mother tried to tie tongue to a post
with an English language leash

how the tongue always ran stubbornly back
to the language it had always been in love with
even when she tried to tame it
it always turned loose

my Spanish
my Spanish

my Spanish is understanding there are stories that
will always be out of my reach

there are people who will never fit
together the way that I wanted them to

there are letters that will always stay silent
there are words that will always escape me

My Spanish by Melissa Lozada-Oliva[1]

Picture 2.4 Summer on Lake Muddus. Pulling a seine to the shore in Savzásuálui (Lammassaari).

3.0

KA NGARO TE REO, A NGARO TAUA, PERA I TE NGAROO TE MOA.

IF THE LANGUAGE IS LOST, WE ARE LOST, WE WILL BECOME EXTINCT AS HAS THE MOA. [8]

IMPACT OF DESIGN

Consider the reception and implication of all designs so that they protect the environment, are sustainable, and remain respectful of Indigenous cultures over deep time: past, present and future.

The International Indigenous Design Charter asks designers to ensure the representation of Indigenous cultures:

- Reflects their cultural values and respects their customary laws.
- Protects and respects the environment and honours the values of Indigenous cultures.
- Are an authentic reflection of Indigenous knowledge.
- Empowers Indigenous peoples: past, present and future.
- And, positively impacts Indigenous peoples who are both the subject and producers of the story: past, present and future.

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 24, 33)

3.1 HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE NEST

It is common in Indigenous communities that learning, intergenerational relationships, family, community, land, culture and home are experienced through continuos time and space. None of these things stand separate from each other and they have to be considered as practical measures to a successful design. It is important to keep in mind what kind of an impact any purpose-built public building in an Indigenous, or in fact in any minority community, might have.[2]

Anarâš people took the language nest methods developed in Aotearoa New Zealand and used them in the revitalization of Anarâškielâ. The language nests have become a fundamental and a successful part of the revitalization work.[3] In the mid 1990s, there were only four native speakers of Anarâškielâ under 19 years of age.[4] The first Anarâškielâ language nest was established in Aanaar in 1997 and it is still running. In 1997, it became possible for the first time to do a baccalaureate exam on the subject of Anarâškielâ. The second Anarâškielâ nest was established in 2011. Each of the Anarâškielâ language nests are small units which follow the Sámi curriculum.[5] The setting of a language nest can be challenging, as Finnish is the default language for most of the children, and because they are at different stages of learning the language. The bottom line is that the communications in the nest always happen in Saami language.[6]

> *'When one significant section of the community burns with a sense of injustice, the rest of the community cannot safely pretend that there is no reason for their discontent (waitangi Tribunal, 1986:46).'* [7]

Aotearoa New Zealand experienced the brutalization of colonialism through the 18th and 19th centuries. Schooling according to the English school curriculum was established by mission schools, but in the start of the 19th century, this schooling system was still influenced by the Māori oral tradition and knowledge. In the rural locations, teaching was mostly in Māori language. The European learning in Māori communities was seen as an extension or as complimentary to their own extensive and deep oral learning tradition. The language did not undergo serious change in the assimilation politics and subsequent decline of the language until the 1840s, when the missionary school became part of the state policies. Only then did the role of English language change in the school system. In 1867, the state established a village day school system in rural Māori communities which was known as the Native School system. Even within this system, Māori language was expected to be used as an aid to teaching but by the end of the century, Māori language was all but banned from the school environment. These measures in school combined with rapid urbanization after the Second World War meant that by the 1960s only 26% of the students attending the Native Schooling system spoke Māori. By 1979, the language was thought to be approaching its death, and with this realization the community was moved to action. The country established a bilingual school system in the 1970s which support the language especially in how the attitude toward it changed. However, it was not able to reverse movement toward English use. During the 1980s, the Māori community initiated a movement, and in the 1982 Te Kohanga Reo (language nest) was opened.[9]

> *'The proposed Te Kohanga Reo movement, an initiative aimed at reviewing traditional Māori knowledge and cultural practices, seemed like an impossible dream to some. Crucial elements which contributed to this doubt were a cultural base which was said to be too fragmented to support such an initiative, and a people whose alienation from traditional base was considered to be such that they could no longer, nor would they wish to, take a part in its reaffirmation.'* [10]

By 1996 there were 767 Te Kohanga Reo catering for 14,000 Māori children and in the census conducted in 2013 determined that 55% of Māori adults had some ability speak the language. The language nest system has been huge success. Three aspects surfaced as the main principles for the working of the language nest organization: [11]

> *Te Reo (speaking in Māori);*
> *Whanau (Extended family); and*
> *Mana motuhake (self-determination).*[12]

3.2 REVITALIZATION WORK

Language has a special role in producing a sense of belonging in a group. As an unifying force, language binds a group of people together more than any other cultural aspect can. In every Saami community, language is an incredibly important part of the culture, and passing the language on to one's children is now thought to be a valuable and desirable thing to do. Language itself is not the only way to authentically belong to a group, but it is alongside the context of family, it can be seen as the most important and straightforward way to do so.[13]

Today, Anarâškielâ is still an endangered language and is by no means the language of mainstream life.[14] There are limited amount of texts being written in Anarâškielâ, and most of the material and work produced in Anarâškielâ is being funded by private foundations.[15] The position of Saami languages is protected by law in Finland.[16] The right to get services in a Saami language is location dependent, in this case, the Sámi homeland. The law does not base itself on the amount of speakers in an area. This, for example, leaves Helsinki out of the frame of the law even though today a big percentage of Saami people live in the capital area. The implication of this law is that a Saami person has the right to a translator or a translation as a public service. The law does not require in-person Saami language service. The law does improve the status of Saami languages, as it obligates people and services to recognize the language as valid. However, how often in practice and how seriously it is taken into consideration is debatable.[17]

The revitalization work of Anarâškielâ started as a communal effort. It was Anarâš people themselves who have been responsible for making sure the language has not fallen out of use.[18] Today, constant work is being done by both Anarâš and other people in order to keep the language alive, as well as to move it forward. Things are slowly changing.

Children are now learning Anarâškielâ again at home, in language nests and even in schools. [19] A language master that I spoke to, described how the situation with the language has improved in the last 30 years, but the children still need the language to be a home language, not just a language they learn in a language nest. This does highlight the complexity that commitment to the revitalization of a language takes, as you cannot just think about one generation at a time. It is nessesary to consider the childrens' parents as well as the future of their grandchildren. The Complementary Aanaar Saami Learning Education (CASLE) project made progress toward teaching adults to speak Anarâškielâ.[20] The reality is that many of the families have had to re-learn and re-discovered the language in the past 30 years.

3.3 SAAMI EDUCATION

The design solutions require certain level of sensitivity in all Indigenous communities because of the significance of the spaces children occupy.[21] The architecture of early childhood education in Indigenous communities is not an unfamiliar of concept, as Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand and America already have examples in producing architecture specifically for Indigenous children.

Life in a Saami family develops through children's experience of belonging to the community they are born into. However, this also involves a strong emphasis on individual freedom and choice.[22] This individualism is created through the understanding of the relationship between wellbeing and nature, as well as through independent initiative, peace, resiliency and latitude. Based on these cultural values, the Saami early education has its values built around identity, sense of community, relationship with nature, traditional skills and livelihood, equality of the sexes and humanity, amicability, multiculturalism, language and creativity.[23]

The purpose-built spaces for early education in Indigenous communities should support the children in the initial development

1 Lozada-Oliva 2015
2 Porsanger & Guttorm 2011,103-104
3 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 48-51
4 Lehtola 2015, 226
5 Peltola, Keskitalo & Äärelä-Vihriälä 2019, 22, 67; Pasanen 2015, 221-222, 211-213; Olthuis 2008
6 Peltola, Keskitalo & Äärelä-Vihriälä 2019, 2019
7 May 1999, 52
8 May 1999, 73
9 May 1999, 52-61
10 May 1999, 58
11 May 1999, 58; Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 913
12 May 1999, 59
13 Valkonen 2009, 244-245
14 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013,145-147
15 Valtonen 2019
16 Saamen kielilaki 2003
17 Magga 2016; Wesselin 2017; Torikka 2018; Kielitieto - Saame
18 Pasanen 2015, 317-328
19 Olthuis 2008
20 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 35-52
21 Keskitalo 2010, 52-55
22 Keskitalo 2010, 108-110
23 Peltola, Keskitalo & Äärelä-Vihriälä 2019, 65

of their Indigenous identities and their lived experience as a part of their communities. These buildings are often referred to as 'the third educator'.[24] The examples in the article by Kreutz, Loebach and Kidd are design responses which have been cultivated through community involvement. In these cases, the community's involvement in the process of developing a building is crucial, as it confers value to the space.

3.4 INDIGENEOUS EDUCATION ARCHITECTURE

3.4.1 AUSTRALIA

The Bubup Wilam Centre for early learning in Australia started with the establishment of a working party with the full support of the City of Whittlesea, where the center is situated. The working party included five to seven Aboriginal people from the health and university sectors, and local Aboriginal families. The objective of the working party was to interact with the City and the design team. During their meetings, shared vision and design ideas were discussed so that the design response to the building would be culturally appropriate and the local Aboriginal people would have their needs met. The working party also visited other Aboriginal-focused architectural sites.[25]

The building was commissioned from the Melbourne practice Hayball Architects. The core of the design was built around the idea of *'bare feet touching the ground'* which in turn produced a building that '*grows from the ground*'.[26] The working party produced recommendations, which in this case were: permeable, flexible, natural and relational. In terms of the design responses, the architects tried to avoid tokenism and instead focused on experimental and functional qualities in order to provide the community a blank canvas of a place where they could experience their culture. So the building has a communal response, but the design has risen out of the more abstract values rather than some recognizable symbolism.[27]

3.4.2 CANADA

In Canada, The Chippewas of Rama (formerly the Mnjikaning First Nation) had an early Childhood Education Center developed through extensive community involvement. The staff at the center produced a list for a design team, which had not yet been hired at this point. The list indicatated the direction in cultural and functional elements the community needed in terms for their new building. Once the Teeple Architects became involved with the building, they spent considerable time with the community to learn about their history and culture. As with the Bubup Wilam Center, the design in Canada also focused on less direct symbolism.

> *'Most were very literal in their interpretation, and cartoony in their gestures; they did not attempt to make deeper connections.'* [28]
>
> *(Architect on other similar projects in First Nation context.)*

The community itself also gave broad direction for the design, purposfully avoiding any specifics. Three themes were brought forward: *inclusive, welcoming and flexible, connection to nature and the environment and cultural support*. The building's entrance faces the east, on a site that has a nature trail close by. This supports the childrens' learning and strengthens connection to the land. Even though the building's vision was based on spaces which were *'soft, flexible and connected'*, the building lacks a large communal space for bigger groups of people to gather. Despite the building design itself avoiding direct symbolism, it does take in consideration the cultural and language-oriented programs that the building provides for it.[29]

reservation An Indian reservation is a legal designation for an area of land managed by a federally recognized Native American tribe under the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs rather than the state governments of the United States in which they are physically located. Each of the 326[1] Indian reservations in the United States is associated with a particular Native American nation. Not all of the country's 574[3] federally recognized tribes have a reservation—some tribes have more than one reservation, while some share reservations, and others have no reservations at all. In addition, because of past land allotments, leading to some sales to non–Native Americans, some reservations are severely fragmented, with each piece of tribal, individual, and privately held land being a separate enclave. This jumble of private and public real estate creates significant administrative, political, and legal difficulties.[4] (wikipedia b)

3.4.3 AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Mana Tamaraki language school was established in the city of Palmerston. The building has spaces for a nursery and a school. It was designed by Tennent and Brown Architects who hired as part of their team Māori artist and consultant Robert (Bob) Jahnke. He was the expert on Māori architecture and design philosophy on the project.

> *'Following the Māori tradition where the tribal house or meeting room is 'one big room', the interior spatial design of Mana Tamariki creates a sense of continuity with its visual connections between learning spaces. The teaching–learning spaces especially embody the Māori concept of not separating ages and celebrate an education that connects the whānau in one open space. This openness directly reflects the Māori custom whereby children are accustomed to the guidance of their senior siblings.'* [30]

The building implies a very strong responsibility towards a sense of whānau (extended family-like environment) that is welcoming and enhances students' connectedness to Māori culture and identity. I find that this building fulfils many of the challenges that were discussed during my conversations with the Anarâškielâ language nest workers. The relationships between different age groups, connectedness and movement between spaces were all considered in the design of the building. The kitchen plays an central role as the heart of the building. What is also interesting is how the architect uses the idea of a literal nest as a part of the building. The suspended space gives the children their own area above the adults where they can educate each other.[31]

While all of the buildings I have discussed were designed with children in mind, and all have unique design responces according to their communities, none of the architectural firms involved seem to employed Indigenous staff. I do not see this being a problem as long as the architect incorporates the community design responces from the Indigenous community. What is evident is that the proposed symbolic elements, perhaps excluding some building elements on the Mana Tamariki building, were quite subtle. The direct and tactile cultural symbolism was avoided in the buildings. When reading about the architectural solutions in other Indigenous buildings, it seems Indigenous architects perhaps are not hesitant with their involvement with these symbols and are more comfrotable to aply them.

3.4.4 AN INDIGENOUS ARCHITECT

Architect Tammy Eagle Bull designed a community school for her home, the Pine Ridge Indian Resevation in South Dakota. Similar to the other projects I have mentioned, the design ethos puts emphasis on community involvement. As stated on their web page, she and her firm say '*We design with clients, not for clients. We start drawing only after we have listened to what the client wants and needs.*'[33] Encompass Architects took their community involvement in very practical terms. They immersed themselves in the school environment, committing to workshops with administration, staff, parents, interested community members, and most notably the children themselves. [34]

To the Lakota people, their family, or tiospaye, is at the center of their existence. The family is centered around sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents. The ideas like step-dad or great-aunt are not present in the family structures in the same way Western societies traditionally see them. Everybody is closer to each other. In this context, wellbeing is communal and all the decisions are taken with your family firmly in your mind. [35]

The way that Tammy Eagle Bull talks about her project differs from the way the non-Indigenous architects talk about their Indigneous projects. Perhaps it is because of the publication Tammy Eagle Bull is writing for, or perhaps it is because she sees her community with the honesty of a person who has been faced with the worst of the political aspects an Indigenous existence can have. There seems to be no way to intepret at this building without acknowledging this.

24 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 896
25 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 897-899
26 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 900
27 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 902, 904-905
28 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 907
29 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 909-912
30 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 914-917
31 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 914,917
32 Kreutz, Loebach & Kidd 2018, 896
33 Encompass Architects 2021
34 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 186
35 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 183
36 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 185
37 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 183-184
38 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 186-187, 190-191

Oglala Lakota County is consistently the first- or second-poorest county in the USA. In 2015, the unemployment rate was nearly 80% and almost a half of the population lived under the poverty line. Further, the infant mortality rate was almost five times the national average. The communities suffer from inadequate health care, housing, transportation and a poor diet. The lack of access to affordable fresh food which in turn plagues the communities with distressing levels of obesity, diabetes and heart disease. With the poverty comes addiction, abuse and crime which affect the children in the community as well as the adults. Teen suicides occur nearly weekly and children as young as seven have been taking their own lives. Racism outside the reservation in the nearby areas also affects the children.[36]

As stated by the architect, the budget for the building was very tight. The meaning of a new public building has huge significance to the community because building work is exceedingly rare.[37]

The workshops were built around questions such as: '*What does school mean to you? What do you want and need from your school? What are your concerns around your new school?*' According to the architect, even though the children especially came up with some whimsical ideas which were not feasible within the budget, there were also some important aspects that were brought forward in the workshops. Safety was central to the way the children saw the building and here the concept of home was brought forward. Not necessarily the home they live in, but the ideal that children feel protected. Another concideration was to make sure the new bigger building would retained sense of community that the children currently had.

After the workshops, the information that was gathered was presented by the cultural values board. This board was referred to throughout the design phase so that values were adhered to. Even though all the ideas in the workshops were not brought into the design, involving the community made people feel like they were part of the process and of the building. After its completion, even though vandalism is common in the area, the building was not damaged. There is clearly a sense of ownership in relation to the school that goes through the entire community.[38] In the context of international Indigenous architecture, the historical and political problems are still very present. In the relationship between the architect and the community, communication is not always easy and trust is not something to be taken for granted. To an architect, the realities of racism or poverty might not be the most comfortable context for a creating a design brief, but they are present and they do need to be recognized when Indigenous architecture is discussed, or indeed when any analysis with criticism is brought forward.

It is fundamental that every architect takes the input from the Indigenous community inconsideration. Saami people have their own challenges within ther processes of decolonization and in many ways, these are very different to the problems that the Indigenous communities elsewhere have as these communities have been dealing with effects of colonialism and imperialism. However, the colonization is a part of the Saami history and peoples' mindsets remains, and the challenges this brings are today's reality.

Through the aforementioned examples, it is possible to see the different types of involvement, regardless of the budget or country of origin. No architect in the Northern Hemisphere is free from this conversation, especially when children are at the center of this equation. Understanding the impact of one's work is relevant in the Indigenous context.

Picture 3.1 Mana Tamaraki Language School by Tennent Brown Architects

4.0 IT TAKES A VILLAGE

SHARED KNOWLEDGE

Cultivate respectful, culturally specific, personal engagement behaviours for effective communication. This involves courteous interaction to encourage the transmission of shared knowledge by developing a cultural competency framework to remain aware of Indigenous cultural realities.

The International Indigenous Design Charter recommends designers:

- Have patience to cultivate respectful, culturally specific, personal engagement, without undue pressure.
- Ensure the appropriate cultural custodians and knowledge keepers are present when consulting or co-creating.
- Demonstrate open, transparent and inclusive consultation processes ensure all stakeholders understand that consultation may require an extended period of time to enable consideration of and consultation with community members.
- Understand it is important to collaborate from the outset of the design process rather than seek approval at the end.
- Share and disseminate information and any findings with the relevant Indigenous stakeholders.
- Engage with courteous interaction to encourage the transmission of shared knowledge by developing a cultural competency framework to remain aware of Indigenous cultural realities.
- Provide copies of design works (where possible) to the people involved.

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 20, 32)

MAAINÂS: KO MÕNNEM GÅÅRDA

Piânnai ookk, kaass trooccõõđee´l
puätt vuâstta. Njaaukam kaazz da iiččääm šeeljjast. Västt
lij uu´s õõudâst, lij jõõskâs, kuâsttai što tääi´ben i'lla no
ǩii dåååma. Säärntõõlam piõnne: Uuǧǧ, uuǧǧ, i´lmmet,
i´lmmet, što kue'ss lij puättam! Jiõm leäkku såittam, pâi
rääi jåå'đeest puõ'ttem, jällõõššâd. Vääzzam riddu, leežž-a
võõnâs säätkast. Kuâstje-a jääu'r â'lnn suuǧǧi, jos le'ćče
mõõnnâm sääi´mi årra. Sääu'n årra ǩiccstam; ij ni ǩii.
Na, joordam tõst reeddast čää´žž juuǧee'st što sååitam
mââibeä'lnn što jällõššem. Te'l eett neezzan viõr tue'ǩken,
mue'rjjskääll tuidd sõõ'rid. Pei'vv pä'štt. Čee tuâldd da
pu´tstep mue'rjid vue'rdeest.

Mâŋŋa si'rddem gååradpäikka. Jåå'ttep taaurõõžživui'm
uu'lci mie'ldd. Vueiǧeep tääiǧ, ceälkk taaurõž. Mii-ba tõ'st.
Jåå'ttep rååst pâjjlõspõõrt šeeljj, nijdd lij suei'bbmen,
källsaž eštt olggan tääbbaǩ puä'lddmen. Tiõrvtam si''jjd
jiõnte'men, pro'sttjeǩed to jåå'đam tääiǧ rââst šeeljj.
Põrttneeǩ lie, jällste tä'st, tät lij si'jji šejj. Teä'nab jiõm
pââst vuõiǧeed tõõiǧ. Tõt sää'rntem mättõš miõlâst
mä'htt põrtte puäđet da järrzi šeeljjai mie'ldd jåå'đet.

Si'rǧǧi ǩiurrel ââ'ljj nijdd, Merja Fofonoff

born in 1967 from Če'vetjäu'rr, Aanaar[1]

WHEN I WENT TO THE CITY

Dog barks, cat pushes me when I arrive. I pet the cat and look at the yard. The broom is against the door, it is quiet. Looks like no one is at home. I talk to the dog: bark, bark, tell them they have a visitor here! I have not phoned before hand, I happened to be close by. I walk to the shore line - is the boat there? Are there rowers on the lake? Perhaps they went with the nets? I look towards the sauna, but cannot see anyone. Well, I think next to the water while I have a drink - I will phone them I was here. Just then, a young woman appears from behind the hill with a bucket full of blueberries. While the tea water is boiling we clean the berries.

Then, I moved to the city. We walked the streets with my friends. Let's take a short cut here, says my friend. Why not? We walk across a yard of an apartment building. Girl is on a swing and a man is smoking a cigarette. They are people living in the apartments. This is their yard. In my mind I decide I will not take a short cut here again, firmly holding the lesson of how to enter a house and how to walk in peoples' yards in my mind.

4.1 SIIDA

Siida means a village, home or home area. The village as a concept is not the same as it is understood in the modern society, where there is one high street or center with all of the ongoing activities. The Siida is a much more spread out habitat and it also includes social relationships, not just the geographical parameters.[2]

This dynamic of the village through community interests me. Tönnis sees *community (Gemeinschaft) as being born out of natural will, the acceptance and the unconscious, evolutionary transformation of 'the inherit mode of thought and perception of the forefathers'* when on the contrary, he saw society (Gesellschaft) as *'the product of rational will, 'in which the thinking has gained predominance and come to be the directing agent'*. [3] In our modern Western context, community has become a part of the urban culture. It contains the paradox of needing to belong together while still upholding the sense of individuality. Even apart from the social context of the community, the self and the need of the single person surpasses the notion of the social group and relationships. The often urban, modern sense of community has been removed from the origin of a land and kin.[4] Tönnise´s *Gemeinschaft* reflects extensively on how I see siida today. What is essential here is that even though siida does not exist anymore in the form of the legislative and political system in Sápmi, as a mindset it is still passed on from generation to generation. I see it ingrained in the way Saami people view their villages - their communities- which in Saami relationships are not just motivated by individual needs, they are dependent on a much wider network of relationships and places. On the other hand, through Tönnis, it is also possible to examine the Saami nation using his concept of community.

> *'It is easy to see parallels between Tönnies' Gemeinschaft and the nation, which for many Euro-Americans has come to define the ties of kinship, place and mind. The ongoing national conversation mediated by print, radio and television helps to maintain the lesson installed in school: the nation is my people, my country, my way of life.'* [5]

So as Tönnis argues, in our individual experiences these two notions do not exist without each other. As such, I see the Saami experience existing with both its community and its nation.

Guttorm talks about Mikkel Nils Sara's view, where he sees exchanging views as central to the traditional Sami society. Sara argues that people who are part of a traditional society exploit the surrounding area in order to survive. To him, this self-suffiency is what makes Sami society a traditional society. Traditional knowledge becomes vital, as in the social group this knowledge becomes common knowledge. In terms of the areas people live in, the social groups use nature and they agree on the use of it. It is common to all groups. So through this traditional Saami society, 'the rational will' can be intepreted as a part of the Saami existence and its complexity of systems. The Saami communities have not been passive - being part of a group is active - and there are conducted elements to the way in which people exist in terms of their places and and their people.[6]

4.2 NEIGHBORS

While the history of community's movement in not the same in each Saami community, I see it as an inseparable part of the collective Saami narrative.

> *How about during your time in Kesvuonâ (Kessivuono) and then later when you were living in Curnâvuonâ (Tsurnuvuono-Surnuvuono)… Were there many travelers?*
>
> *- Daily.*
>
> *Why were people moving about?*
>
> *- It was common for everyone to have things to do somewhere.*
>
> *They were the local reindeer herders and...?*

- Herders and fishers.

Every house was this kind of lonely house… Though they weren't thought to be lonely even though they were long distances away from each other?

- You are right. And no one passed by (a house), without popping in, like people do today.

So if you passed by a house you went in?

- Yeah. We had dealings with each other all the time. And no one would die and be forgotten for weeks like in today´s Finland.

(Sulo Sammeli Sarre from Aanaar, born in 1929) [7]

Historically, homes in Aanaar were few and far between and traveling was slower because of the lack of the roads.[8] Stopping into a place one were passing was an essential part of life. Both neighbourly and familial relationships used to be important for the community´s survival.[9] The living conditions in the north were, and still are, harsh. Maintaining good manners and relations with each other was crucial for survival. Credit for this could also be attiributed to thet fact there are no recorded real wars between Saami people or indeed between Saami and other people throughout history.[10] These communal relationships have played a huge part in the lives of the Saami elderly who were born in the first half of the 20th century.[11] They were the support system for all of the community, before any modern social security. Miettunen talks about this informal social care where throughout the Sápmi, siida and family used to take care of each other. Exchanging favours is at the core of this. This practice works both ways and it is not based on money, but on relationships and memory built over long periods of time.[12]

'When I was a child, people used to do a lot of visiting, but today people don't do this anymore. Modern life has changed this. - Saami language used to be commonly spoken and neighbours had solidarity between them. Because most supplies had to be purchased from Norway, you could borrow an item from the neighbour if you ran out of something. You would then change it back after your next trip to Norway. People would remember. Back then, there was a great collaboration between people. Today this is missing from people' s lives.'

(Kerttu Paltto from Aanaar, born in 1949)[13]

Even though this ease of the movement and visiting might be dissapearing from the today's communal Saami relationships, I see movement as a part of the past we use as a building blocks of the identities we cherish. To me, this means stories like my grandmother walking to Norway with my dad when he was a small boy; my great-great-grandmother walking home when she was eight months pregnant because she did not want to give birth by the barren sea side of northern Norway; and my grandmother driving people across the lake with a boat when she was a teenager. It is being attached to your home and tracing steps in nature, learning where my great-grandmother went to pick cloudberries with her children, what fishing spots to use and which swamps the family used to gather hay from.

Today, we are by blood bound to places, and they draw us back with a force that sometimes I cannot help but to wonder at. Movement remains part of today's narrative of Saami person, as the dislocation and being away from home brings one face-to-face with the constant back and forward existence, both in its physical and mental form. It is the state of mind that many Saami people carry with them. To me, we are in many ways always in between spaces, somewhat rootless, and yet trying to understand what this new movement as a part of forming space mean to us, both as a communties and as a nation. In my life it is the work that is needing to be done, family that exists and the things which I need to know that pull me back through the distance of hundreds of kilometers - time after time. It is this practicality that asserts the continuity of knowledge and solidifies 'home' for me. Movement is inseparably attached to a place, and the place does not simply include the built environment but it is, as discussed by Matunga, critical.[14]

4.3 ELDERLY AS PART OF THE COMMUNITY

Some older people in Aanaar are faced with a choice of moving out of their homes quite early on because of the distances between the houses and amenities in municipality.[15] Becoming part of a more varied community would be quite natural to older Saami people who are transitioning into care. Being left alone in a new surroundings when you are moved to care can be a traumatic experience. Especially to a person who has been brought up in a culture where self-sufficiency and community are at the heart of living. In an interview, a Saami man described a visit to the Ohcejohka care home and the emotion this connection had for his relative:

'When a relative had been taken to a care home in Ohcejohka, I went to visit them… I told them who I was, and they started to cry.' [16]

In Aanaar, on the whole life is often still based on the old traditions and on a strong sense of self-sufficiency. The culture of surviving - a person's utter reliance on their own ability to manage life and take care of things - is an underlying characteristic for most older Saami.[17] It is partly this self-sufficiency which makes the idea of being cared for by others a difficult prospect to many Saami people.[18]

'You are now over 80 years old and still living here in Koldemjävri (Nuottamajärvi)?

Still living here. I was at my sister's place in Uáđđivei (Nukkumajoki), but I am used to a place like this. My sister's place did not have views in all directions. They had a house like a hall. Everytime the snowplough went past it covered everything in snow and you could not see properly out of the window. I became homesick. Luckily, they started to plough the road to my home. I told my family: dear people, please take me home now. When I got here I could not stop walking around. Laila told me to sit down already. I told her I needed to make sure I was really home.'

(Kaisa Saijets from Aanaar, born in 1920) [19]

A progradu project by Miettunen tells how the elderly Saami did not often perceive care homes in a positive manner because they believed they would have to give up the lives they were accustomed to. People who were interviewed told they feared losing their language, clothing and food they had eaten their entire lifes. They believed they would not be able to do handicrafts, even if they still had the ability to do so.[20]

To Saami people, family culture is not necessarily based around the nuclear family unit. The way a Saami person relates themself to the world can be a complex web of connections which includes family, relatives, kin and even their long-passed relatives. All of these connections are seen as a meaningful part of one's identity. It is not surprising that Saami languages have a vast vocabulary for family relations.[21] My intention is that the value of these relationships in the community are reflected in a mix-used building. Because the language development needs intergenerational connections, which are mostly provided at home, it makes sense to have the language nest as a part of a communal building. But the building could have additional value to the elderly, who could be brought closer to a care environment which works around their cultural values and the significance of the connections in Saami communities.

In Aanaar, the Sámi Institute's language course relies partly on Language Master teaching, where the students are allocated a person who is a native speaker of the language. The students meet with their Language Masters to speak and to learn. Guttorm talks in her article about **árbečeahppi** (knowledge bearer) as a part of

1 Magga & Ojalatva 2013, 119
2 Magga & Elo, 2007, 57-58; Lehtola 2015, 37-39
3 May 1999, 29
4 May 1999, 29
5 May 1999, 31
6 Porsanger & Guttorm 2011, 67-68
7 Jefremoff 2001, 103
8 Magga & Elo, 2007, 36-37
9 Seppänen 2010, 90-91
10 Lehtola 2015 (Acta Borelia), 126
11 Seppänen 2010, 156-158
12 Miettunen, 2012, 41-46
13 Jefremoff 2001, 135
14 Matunga 2018, 306, 317
15 Inarin kunta 2015, 27
16 Seppänen 2010, 90
17 Miettunen 2012, 10
18 Miettunen 2012, 45-47
19 Jefremoff 2001, 66-67
20 Miettunen 2012, 46
21 Peltola, Keskitalo & Äärelä-Vihriälä 2019, 42, 74
22 Porsanger & Guttorm 2011, 72-73
23 Jefremoff 2001, 103-104

the Turf Hut Project, which I mention elsewhere. The knowledge bearer has understanding of traditional knowledge. Even though the person might not have a theoretical explanation for things, they can still explain a phenomenan or skill in the context of their work. This is very relevant to learning in Saami communities. [22]

Today, social life has changed in many ways, but the reliance on the community has not disappeared from the way the Saami people relate to each other. However, the absolute necessity of communal relationships as a part of physical survival has somewhat disappeared from the modern Saami life. Perhaps this is mostly due to the existence of the state provided well-fare and changes to the local demographic. However, the form of community still remains a part of the mental survival of culture. I strongly believe that a mixed-use building could support today's traditional learning processes, while at the same time supporting those Anarâš children and elderly that might not have access to the vast network of their community.

árbečeahppi is a person who is, in a profound sense, a master of traditional knowledge and skill and who is considered to have skill and who is considered to have skill in his/her own field by his/her community (Porsanger & Guttorm 2011, 22)

Picture 4.1 Fishing with nets under ice in Liävdooluohtâ (Leutolahti).

'At the time, it was pretty strictly known, the territory of who fished and where?

It was. The same way as the reindeer herding areas were known.

Same way?

Yes.

It was not done, people coming from other villages, to your waters? Everyone fished in their own areas?

Right, no one went on to other people´s territories.

There were nests for goldeneyes around Lake Aanaar?

There are still, but no one eats their eggs anymore.

So, how did you do a job like picking the eggs?

Their eggs were used the same way as chicken eggs … The eggs weren't collected all at once. People took care that there were enough eggs left, so there were birds in the future too. Because the bird would not come back to nest in the same place, if all her eggs were taken at once.

So living with nature, or alongside nature, had its own rules? Nature was not just used, it was considered that things would continue.

Right. We also did hunting.

Was it birds, or what, that you hunted?

Mainly birds around spring and autumn, to be honest the bird hunting was done almost all year around… When we came back from the evacuation, there were many bullets and guns. It was so nice to be out during the capercaillie mating season. At that time there was still ' a chance to catch' a bird and we wouldn't run out of them. I think it is poppycock today people saying we have run out of birds. It is all because of the logging of the forests.

Was there at the time trap hunting here?

Yes, through the winter. Those birds were mostly taken to Norway.

(Sulo Sammeli Sarre from Aanaar, born 1929).' [22]

5.0 ENVIRONMENT AND LEARNING

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

Acknowledge and respect the rich cultural history of Indigenous knowledge, including designs, stories, sustainability and land management, with the understanding that ownership of knowledge must remain with the Indigenous custodians.

The rich cultural history of Indigenous knowledge is a living entity that continues to evolve. By developing a cultural competency framework, those engaging with Indigenous knowledge remain aware of the complex cultural reality that regenerates, advances and grows.

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 18, 31)

Picture 5.1 Spring trip in April. View towards home from Kuárvikozzâ.

Árvasduottar
Albma viidodat
Čalbmečiegas čalbmečihkii
Áibbas vielgat
Árvvas áhpi
Árvas

Lulličohkas dolle davás
Sieidevári ábi rastá
Niedái de vuomi čađa
Árvsii

Durbbonjávrris lea min gárdi
Gáissaš ja duo Bálggesnjunni
Hearraláhku
Gođiid lusa
Bárkái

Heaikkabávtti ferte váruhit
Bahá gahččat go lea mierká
Rissajávrri bassi rávddut geasuhit

Liigasis doppe lei orohat
Áhkku unnin stoagai giettis
Dál lea ávdin
Ruoktut vieččaimet gierresiid

Sofia Jannok[1]

Árvasduottar
such a plentiful domain
from the corner of one eye
to the other wholly white
a sumptuous sea
Árvas

From Lulličohkka we go west
Cross the sea of Sieidevárri
through Niedá and the valleys
to Árvas

Our corral is in Durbbonjávri
There is Gáissáš and Bálggesnjunni
Hearraláhku
To the turf huts
in Bárká

Heed yourself on Heaikkabákti
Avoid stumbles in the fog
The hallowed char draw you to Rissajávri

Liigas held a dwelling
Grandmother used to play in the field
It is now left abandoned
We took home the sleds

5.1 SOCIAL LEARNING

Traditionally, a Saami child's learning happened through working and moving in nature alongside the adults. Heating the home with wood, the relationship with reindeer, hunting, fishing, handicrafts, moving in nature in different conditions, understanding weather learning these skills through shared activity has been crucial to the continuity of the Saami culture.[2]

> *'I learned to make traps… making traps is not just, here are a bunch of strings, go and make traps...knowing where to put them, how to do this - how the string stays in trees… my best teachers were my brothers.'* [3]

Tradition is built through intergenerational relationships and these social contacts assert cultural continuity. Knowing how to do things in the surrounding domain one's family inhabits is at the core of Saami culture.[4] Relationship between family, space and knowledge, the sense of environment and siida all go hand in hand.[5] The threat to the right to continuously survive within the landscape is at the root of a lot of pain and arguments in the countries within the Sápmi. Recent movements such Ellos Deatnu demostrate resistance against such threats.[6] Activity and participation in one's landscape, such as salmon fishing at Deatnu are part of home.

Tradition and relationship with nature do not need to lose value in Saami communities, even in today's modern, busy world.[7] They remain alive, and relative parts of the Saami Indigeneity. Learning and experiencing different aspects of life alongside adults, at home or in kindergarten and in school is still something which happenes as a part of the Saami relationships.[8]

> *'My three-year-old son even refused to go to Kielâpiervâl (language nest) without a fishing rod! Luckily the caregivers were very understanding and knew how to deal with his fishing mania. In the winter the language nest children had their own fishing nets in Lake Aanaar just in front of the nursery school, so we could avoid those little battles in the morning.'* [9]

The relationship between human contact and space is something that is experienced throughout the Indigenous communities. K. Jake Chakasim talks about this beautifully when he tells about hunting with his grandfather.[10]

> *' I was instructed to face due south and observe the sun that seemed to bend across the sky east-to-west, meanwhile, to listen carefully for the sound of migrating niska (geese) that juxtaposed the natural cycles shaping place around me. "Observe me and listen" said mooshim, "this place may seem like the middle of nowhere to you now but it will soo be everything you will be in search of later life. It's who we are.'*

This type of learning in the environment is not a remnant of the distant past but something that young Saami experience even today. Saami people have a long history of oral storytelling. The written grammar and language in Saami languages is quite a recent thing.[11] It is this sense of self that is also expressed in Saami art. Saami rapper Áilu Valle has expressed his relationship with learning in nature in his song Suga Suga.

> *'trouts and graylings*
> *pop in on the lake surface*
> *i keep guessing*
> *maybe they'll swim into the net soon*
> *i ask for it*
>
> *terns laugh and whistlers' wings whistle*
> *bluethroat telling a story*
> *so intense that its chest changes colour*
>
> *when i was little*
> *everything was so familiar*
> *simple and clear*
> *father threw nets with me to the lake*
>
> *in the home shore*

there was a birch waiting
where to tie the boat in
when we were ready, i yoiked

with joy, joy, joy' [12]

Language, clothing and art are all closely related to the Saami relationship with their environment.[13] The environment is not a separate issue to Saami. Nature is weaved through everything. It passes through in skill sets that are deemed to be useful; it has a big presence in language; it is creative and it is at the root of Saami family and relationships with other people. It is the history and tradition to all Saami, but even more so, it has to be part of the future.[14]

5.2 ARCHITECTURE AND SAAMI ENVIRONMENT

Fundamentally, the problem between an Indigenous architect and a non-Indigenous architect lies in the relationship which is inherited towards spaces. The search for value in architectural work often refers to the fading borders of the indoor and outdoor spaces. I repeatedly hear how the architect wants to make people inside feel as though they are part of the outside. Van der Rohe described his view on nature and building in regards to the Farnworth House:

> *Nature, too, shall live its own life. We must beware not to disrupt it with the color of our houses and interior fittings. Yet we should attempt to bring nature, houses and human beings together into a higher unity. If you view nature through the glass walls of the Farnsworth house, it gains a more profound significance than if viewed from outside. That way more is said about nature — it becomes a part of a larger whole.*[15]

The architect who designed Sajos thought, '*in Saami tradition, the outside space is in a way a practical extension of the indoor space and because of this the building cannot be closed off.* '[16]

In Saami tradition, the significance of time spent indoors was not the same as it is in modern society. In the Saami architectural tradition, indoor spaces have been seen as they were extensions of the outdoors. To Saami people almost everything worthwhile has happened outside. Though indoor spaces have offered shelter, when the traditional aspects of space and Saami are referred to, it is not reasonable to insert modern indoor architectural values on them.

Framing a view and vanishing the presence of a wall in space are very effective tools in architecture, and I would naturally encourage using them in design. Nonetheless, I do not see them as a part of the Saami architectural narrative as they are represented, for example, in the case of Sajos. As a part of the architectural practice, using glass to open spaces up to the outside is understandble. However, I do not agree using views as a value in defining the role of naturein the context of Indigenous architecture. When it comes to the analysis done by Van Der Rohe, the Indigenous nature will never be 'undisrupted' simply because the relationships are benefitial. Nature will not gain more significance framed in any view than it does when people are immersed in it, doing something. I would not equate the importance of indoors with the mental meaning outside has.

> *Having said that, it is important to restate that* **all** *Indigenous cultures display grand narrative architecture either in the built environment or through living interactions with the natural landscape and ecology of their place. By this, I mean that the natural environment is also a site where space is framed but rather than the built form, by and through nature. By applying this framing space thesis, I don't limit grand narrative architecture exclusively to the built environment. 'Framing' occurs wherever the community coalesces or congregates as Indigenous peoples— either permanently or temporarily*[17]

Usually, people admire views when they are enjoying a walk or a trip to the northern nature. People can be fond of these views. A person may choose to build a house based on admired view. People may travel because of a view they want to see. However, the close relationship with nature that often gets mentioned with the Saami people is a deeply practical and interactional relationship. It is based on a functional symbiosis within the view. Generally, a Saami person at their siida is not separate from the view we as professionals might frame. And even though the spiritual is also present in this relationship, what we look at should not be considered simply 'wild' or visually breathtaking, because that view is not empty. It has never been.[18]

> *'You had to always have a reason, whenever you went to the forest, because you cannot go there for no reason. Like a Finnish people, they will go walk there for no good reason.'*
>
> Váábu Maati Uula Irján (Yrjö Musta)[19]

5.3 NATURE OF SAAMI

In the Northern Hemisphere, incredibly challenging conditiones is not as redily discussed as lack of monuments are acknowledged. To me, it is tremendously relevant how adaptable and well-fitted Saami living has been in terms of the living environment, influences, materials and the seasonally-limited timescale. Instead of stone monuments and beautiful decorative tribal gathering places, Saami communities have stunning movable everyday items and thorough understanding of their home area and the climate that is inhabited. This is a land where the sun sets with the arrival of the snow in November and does not cross the threshold of the horizon again until January; when by April it starts its long rise through the season of growth banishing the night until in November when it vanishes again. The environment has more meaning than the churches erected to the gods. One's whole sense of time and with it priorities and survival is tied to environment.

This whole chapter really is in a sense about how Saami people frame their homes around their culture. In terms of tradition, this is not a still, frozen existence but rather it responds to time and the changing patterns of life that people have. Tradition changes and alongside its practises. But in terms of architecture, Saami people are still figuring out their relationship with the modern built environment. As Saami peoples' sense of home is extensive in the way it includes people and space, it is also ample in the way it includes actions. Whether Saami architecture will exist as a part of the Indigenous architecture is to be seen, but I am sure it will not exist without the relationship Saami people have with their homes, and this includes the homes we bring with us to the places where Saami people have not traditionally lived.[20]

1 Jannok 2009 Translated lyrics from artist's youtube channel.
2 Seppänen 2010, 08-109, 148-150; Peltola, Keskitalo & Äärelä-Vihriälä 2019, 185-187
3 Seppänen 2010, 87
4 Porsanger & Guttorm 2011, 202-203
5 Magga & Elo, 2007, 36
6 Lakkala 2017; Alajärvi 2017
7 Peltola, Keskitalo & Äärelä-Vihriälä 2019, 71
8 Keskitalo 2010, 214-218
9 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 71
10 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 211
11 Olthuis 2008
12 Valle 2019 Translated lyrics from artist's youtube channel.
13 Lehtola 2015, 18-19
14 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 71-77
15 Neumeyer 1991
16 Projekti uutiset 2012
17 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 319
18 Magga & Elo 2007, 13-15; Porsanger & Guttorm 2011, 200-201
19 Pasanen 2015, 173
20 Porsanger & Guttorm 2011, 64-65

6.0 COLONIZATION

LEGAL AND MORAL

Demonstrate respect and honour cultural ownership and intellectual property rights, including moral rights, by obtaining appropriate permissions where required.

Designers must be aware of their professional and moral responsibility and the need to understand the power they have to influence opinions.

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 26,34)

Picture 6.1 Kuobžâ-Piäká Ánná (Anna Morottaja) singing during the Skábmagovat Indigenous Film Festival in Aanaar.

6.1 COLONIZATION IN SAAMI CONTEXT

What makes the narrative around Indigenous architecture complicated is colonization and its effects on the Indigenous communities around the world. However, the discussion around Indigenous architecture cannot be done without considering the role of colonization in it, even when the effects differ from community to community.

For Saami people, the colonization processes have been radically different when compared with, for example, Canada or Australia. They have varied even between different Saami communities, as historically, Norway exercised stronger oppressive tactics than Finland.[1] Kuokkanen discusses colonization of Saami people in terms of settler colonization. This means that instead of slave trade colonialism or genocide, she connects settler coloniazation to Saami people. Here, colonization is seen as an invasive force, often still in operation, where its way of working is much more subtle. It affects people through the ownership of land and use of resources. So it is not a singular happening, but rather a process.[2]

Pääkkönen [3] talks the complexity of colonization and Saami people, while Lehtola also denies the simplistic generalisation of Saami people as the victims of the Finnish public in terms of colonization. He underlines how important it is to understand that:

> *'Saami people are not grown up children, people who cannot plan or make decisions.'*[4]

According to him, the image of weaker Saami people who dislocated from the way of more stronger cultures is not accurate but rather, the encounter between people has been in principle equal.[5]

> *'Both the general public and Lapps have turned out to be a groups of many kinds of people, to which the definitions of bad and good, the oppressed and the oppressors do not quite fit.'*[6]

Lehtola's view does not exclude colonization as a part of the relationship between Finnish and Saami people, as he does recognize that there are aspects of colonization within it.

This type of quiet encounter is similarly talked about by Able, where he talks about colonists (more in terms of the southern countries) and how, in spite of their belief on the superiority of their own culture, the local cultures continued to mostly thrive relatively untouched. But he goes further to emphasize the role of what he calls,''*neo-colonialism', which appeared after the historical colonialism and heterogeneous culture of the industrial colonialism fell away. The former colonizers kept on the economic exploitation and exporting of the natural resources but on top of that, the newly 'independent' nations became consumers themselves in support of the ravenous growth of the former colonist countries.'* [7] This is also relevant to the conversation about Saami people, as it sees colonization as something that the Indigenous communities are not yet overcome. Abel also talks about how

> *'Far from bringing civilization and prosperity the subdued region, as Northern myths have it, colonisation actually meant a diversion of local energies away from those pursuits which were necessary for self-sufficiency, such as growing of food supplies for local consumption, towards the mining and cultivation of resources for export to service the metropolitan economy.'*[8]

In conclusion, rather than being a part of the past, colonization is still firmly felt around the world, and so the architecture which is involved with Indigenous communities directly engages itself with the ongoing aspects of colonization and the processes of decolonization. Saami people still find themselves regularly struggling against the power of this economic exploitation, for their traditional livelihoods and for the rights to their land.[9]

How the colonization in Saami communities is felt through buildings is an under-researched in academic writing. Soikkeli writes about the standards of cleanliness, the idea of purity and how architecture has contributed to them in Saami contexts.[10] This article can be interpret through the narrative of colonization, the Saami people and built environment.

Haugdal has written an article about materiality in Saami buildings. Similarly, Nango has analyzed the public buildings and Saami architecture and he continues to investigate Saami built environments through his art work. Other than this, in the international Indigenous architectural research, the voices of Saami people about their built environment is vacant.

Colonization is a highly emotive issue. It was not until the 1960s, through the young Saami people, that colonization became seen collectively as a part of the history of the ethnic Saami group, their present situation and relationships with the mainstream population.[11] This has had an effect on the way many Saami people have formed their identities today. Every Saami person has an individual experience relating to their identity, and to their existence in relation to the world around them and in terms of their social surroundings. According to Pääkkönen, identity is never ready or conclusive and it is also political. When he talks about collective identity he says:

> *'Power needs its target identities to be fixed.'*[12]

Collective identity allows for categorazing, and so contributes toward the act of including and excluding. This makes it a part of the political conversation and manifestation of power.[13] I personally see identity as being built in Saami context through family culture, kinship and relationship with a place. When the experience of colonization is based within these parameters they differ. There is always a need for sensibility around these issues.

6.2 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

What is apparent in the case studies on different Indigenous-led design projects is that the involvement and engagement of the particular community, should be in place from the beginning of a project. They are not implemented as an afterthought. Finland has an especially rigid construction industry, and these types of community-led projects are not the common practice in Finnish architecture. The engagement of the Saami communities in construction is relevant. This includes also urban space and villages. Inclusiveness of the Indigenous people is already part of practice in many different types of projects around the world.

I took part in a web event[14] and the Indigenous architects who were present discussed how each project involving an Indigenous community requires a thousand cups of tea. What they meant by this is that gaining the trust of the community as well as developing a vision for an Indigenous building take time and commitment. As I understand it, Finnish construction does not mold into this type of process very comfortably, and while Saami land and water rights in Finland do remain in many ways under attack, the Indigenous building still is a relevant issue and should be discussed seriously. Especially because the rapid expansion of urbanization, tourism and travel, and the age of building stock are causing huge changes within Saami communities.

6.3 FINNISH INDUSTRY

In 1941, the Finnish Association of Architects (SAFA) formed a committee for organizing the rebuilding works in Finland. This committee was also responsible for starting the standardization of the Finnish building and construction industry. During the 1960s and 1970s the common standardisation for building in Finland was established. Today, the representative body of the RTS foundation is formed by 59 members from a body of 55 different organizations relative to the Finnish building industry. The Finnish Rakennustieto Oy is a limited company owned by Rakennustietosäätiö (RTS).[15]

The way Rakennustieto offers information to people is through documentation. The core of Rakennustieto lies in their card system, first outlined by Alvar Aalto and Viljo Ravell in the mid 1940s. Aalto named the principles for the card system as follows:

> *up-to-date;*
> *easy to use;*
> *authoritative; and*
> *information is completely conclusive.*

In practise, this means a person or institution can buy the rights to use information provided by the Rakennustieto database. We access this information through a webpage. The cards are currently accessible in a pdf-format.[16]

Finland has its own building law: the No. 132 Land Use and Building Act. For a contractor, builder or an architect, Rakennustieto has produced two different types of documentation for support in navigating the requirements of this law. As mentioned, the card system by Aalto and Ravell is still in use, but the there is also *Rakentamisen yleiset laatuvaatimukset - RYL (common quality standards for building)* which is a document outlining standards for building work, which are agreed across the Finnish building industry. These documents can be referred to in construction-related documentation. They are not legal documents, but using them as a benchmarks is considered a common practice. If a RYL is mentioned, the project will be finished by the contractor to the standard described in the RYL. They also set titles so that the project can be divided. By using RYL-documents, the industry has simplified the process by not always having to describe in detail what quality, for example, painting needs to achieve in a building. The RYL-documents set standards to the minimum for 'good building'. The RYL-documents are produced by Rakennustieto Oy and they are not free.[17]

I see the card system and RYL-documents as incredibly handy and useful. However, they also set certain restraints on projects which seek an alternative answer to an any given problem, especially when a stantard or method needs to change quickly. I would argue that if something is not in the card system, it is very hard to validate its importance or realibility in the Finnish construction industry. For example, in the case of the language nest, the nursery card does not match many of the the case specific-aspects of the building I was considering during the design process. Importantly there is no card which considers Indigenous projects or Saami architecture in general. There is no current response to how Saami spaces are to be interpreted and produced. I was able to utilize from the nursery and care home cards what I found to be relevant.

I think there is a danger of misinterpretation in the way we rely on the guidelines provided in the cards, as it is easy to look at the language nest as a nursery, and see the standards we have for spaces from this point of view. We really realy on the facts provided to us as a profession by RT, and for a good reason, as the information is carefully generated through contested knowledge. However, the use of these cards may inhibit the architect from their own considerations of problem solving, or even from questioning the standards which are provided to us by reputable others.

1 Lehtola 2015, 70-74
2 Kuokkanen 2020, 512-519
3 Pääkkönen 2008, 264-268
4 Huru 2012
5 Lehtola 2012, 41
6 Huru 2012
7 Abel 2000, 161-162
8 Abel 2000, 198
9 Nortio 2019; Satokangas 2020
10 Soikkeli 2021, 123-132
11 Pääkkönen 2008, 157-160
12 Pääkkönen 2008, 83-84
13 Pääkkönen 2008, 80-85
14 PROCESS 2020
15 Rakennustieto a 2021
16 Rakennustieto b 2021
17 Rakennustieto c 2021; wikipedia c

Picture 7.1 Polar night, moon and northern lights over Savzâsuálui (Lammassaari).

7.0 INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE

SELF-DETERMINED

Respect the rights of Indigenous peoples to determine the application of traditional knowledge and representation of their culture in design practice.

The International Indigenous Design Charter reinforces the rights of Indigenous peoples to cultural self-determination as recognised by the United Nations in their Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 12,31)

7.1 CHRONOLOGY OF INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE

Indigeneity in a building can be generated in different ways. Today, in Indigenous architectural practice, Indigeneity is often produced through community involvement during the design process and with the initative of an Indigenous architect.

Historically, all Indigenous architecture does not follow a timeline that can be fitted into a singular continuous plane, but rather every community has their own narrative when it comes to their architecture. Indigenous architecture is not homogenous. Because of this, it is relevant to understand the terminology developed around Indigenous architecture. It is considered through a wider lens of individual narratives that span similarly across people, place, culture and time.

Professor **Hirini Matunga** talks about the chronology of Indigenous architecture and he divides it into:

Classic

'The first Indigenous architecture was a native and natural performance, a response to the land, environment, geography, topography, climate and seasonality, and the need to house, shelter, protect and defend. It was also a medium to express in spatial form certain critical cultural values and principles, and a mechanism for addressing social, economic and political needs and requirements. It was an approach circumscribed by the availability of resources, materials and technologies to meet a defined need.' [1]

In Saami context, I see this as the architecture of lávvu, kuáti and structures that supported the lives of the nomadic and semi-nomadic communities. In Saami communities, responses to shelter have been individual, depending on the way of life.[2] To me, classic Saami architecture can be viewed as 'authentically' Indigenous, as it truly has been a response to environment. Saami people have not built gathering or culturally significant buildings like some other Indigenous communities have. Their sacred sites have been formed by nature.[3]

Resistance

'Their architecture was unequivocally one of resistance and response, what I refer to earlier as the binary of resistance and acceptance. On the one hand, a fierce opposition to the havoc that colonialism was creating, but on the other, a pragmatic almost clinical willingness to co-opt colonial tools, even colonial religions. The aim was to synthesis the old and the new and to re-express structural archetypes, but with survival as the end goal.' [4]

In the context of Saami architecture, I consider resistance architecture in terms of the commitment to a more static way of life. This includes building types such as the early small homesteads, 'porotilat' and the new homes of Skolt Saami people. As much as Saami people adapted to the influences of southern Finland, they also were actively turning and molding these new spaces to suit their own cultures and livelihoods. Resistance architecture in Saami context was, and still, is not passive.[5]

Renaissance (resurgence)

'Renaissance architecture belongs to the stage at which Indigenous community survival became less tenuous and another more celebratory and resurgent form of architecture was developing.' [6]

In terms of the research I have done, I see Saami architecture currently in the phase of Renaissance. Saami culture has reached a stage where people have the time and ability to investigate. Life has become less about survival in its rawest form and more about the opportunities for other pursuits and the discovery of what being Saami means in the modern context. To me, Saami creative culture benefits from this abundance of time. This naturally includes the build environment. Indigenous people are about to step into the depth of what is creatively possible, as separate communities, as families and as a greater more organized body of people.

Matunga also brings urbanization into the Renaissance architecture. He talks about the rapid change from rural life to the modern architectural realities of the city and how this dislocation in itself created an existential crisis to '*being Māori*'. The new urban context '*is removed from the familiar idea of socio-cultural values and in his description, the familiarity that makes home'*. To me the new urban environment brings Indigenous insecurities into the center of the question. It challenges the concept of a home and the architectural and design values that go with it. '*The new urban reality, dominated by a market economy, private property and individualism, was the complete antithesis of the traditional political economy many Indigenous people had left behind.*' In Saami culture, specifically Finland, this urbanization is rarely discussed, even though it is a well-established fact. Urbanization can bring uncertainty for the continuity of the language and culture. In Finland, the representation of the Saami people as a part of the urban fabric does not exist, even though Helsinki has the biggest Saami community in Finland. How the forming of Saami identity in urban environments is supported through architecture and planning, urban design and public art should be somehow considered. How the relationship with traditional Saami values on home and environment will be intergrated into the urban fabric and further, how the identity of Indigenous architecture within the city should evolve to produce new ways of existing for the urban Saami and all Saami people. This is a vital part of supporting the Saami cultures.

When discussing Māori architecture, Matunga also reflects on the fact that the new existence of Indigenous architecture in the urban context includes the mixing of the Māori communities themselves, as a community member might be staying in an area that is inhabited by another community. This in itself brings out complicated issues around diplomatic relations and co-existing. Also in terms of Saami, this type of relocation has happened both naturally and by force for some time already. This has had its own dramatic effects on how different groups and villages have developed and formed in terms of their communities.[7]

Modern

Matunga divides Indigenous modern architecture into two: grand narrative and quiet narrative.

> 'The former was/is *a continuation and expansion of Indigenous structural archetypes*. The latter *had to re-conceptualize and then re-purpose a fixed space to meet the needs and cultural values of Indigenous communities.'*

Matunga reflects on the grand narrative architecture as something temporary in terms of the modern and the contemporary. According to him, its design responses are based on new materials and technologies which have helped in forming the new modern Indigenous responses to the traditional structures of the Indigenous communities.

On the otherhand, in terms of Indigenous modern and Indigenous architecture, quiet narrative is seen as an act of retrofit and repurposing. To Matunga, in Māori architecture this means mainly three things: the occupation of what is available space-wise in the city and making it work in the best possible way for the community and also the way urban concept of residential and private spaces is handled. As many Indigenous communities do, Māori people, have a specific way of organizing and using the spaces they reside in. It is difficult to say what 'Indigenous modern' means for the Saami architecture. In terms of public architecture, Saami people occupy the space that is created for them. It could be possible that the grand narrative is performed in Saami communities through their public buildings. However, what the quiet narrative is in the urban context, is difficult to pinpoint. Perhaps it is still something Saami people are beginning to explore.[8]

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(https://www.planning.org.au/national-conference-content/speakers-2/professor-hirini-matunga)

1 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 312
2 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 313; Soikkeli 2021, 119-121
3 Elo & Magga 2007, 87-88)
4 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 314
5 Soikkeli 2021, 121-125,128-132;
6 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 315
7 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 316-317
8 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 317-321

Post Modern

'If for now we can accept that postmodern anything implies after or beyond modern, in the context of Indigenous architecture—and my as yet untested view—it does not mean a rejection of the modern, but rather a reinterpretation of all that has gone before and 'new ways' of reconstituting tradition, and rethinking Indigenous archetypes to comprehend new contexts (many unpredicted) along with new modes of/for Indigeneity.'

Matunga and Indigenous practice recognize that the Indigenous postmodern architecture should be envisaged by the Indigenous communities themselves. Matunga is hopeful that the future will finally bring into reality *''acceptance' of the other - hopefully finally initiating the 'de-othering' of Indigenous architecture'*. Joar Nango, a Saami architect and artist, has been collecting material for a project called Girjegumpi, a physical nomadic Saami library which stores materials he has collected relating to Indigenous architecture, resistance and decolonization. This library has several hundred titles and it has travelled around the world. I think, while this may not be seen as static architecture in its traditional sense, it remains crucial to post-modern Indigenous architecture. Nango's library is a relevant example of how an Indigenous person views important information in terms of personal, as well as their community's exitance, while interpreting it though space and movement - and sharing. Similarly, the Skábmagovat Indigenous Film Festival constructs a theatre out of snow every year for viewing films. The theatre is an example of climate specific temporary structure in Indigenous context. If Indigenous architects do not investigate their spaces, they might in their own right hold out the advancement of decolonization in the building industry. For architectural profession outside the Indigneous context, it is necessarily to consider the importance of an open conversation and value of hearing as a part of these processes in architecture.[9]

7.2 SITE CONTEXT IN INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE

One poignant example to learn from community involvement and perspective is the project of the University of Montana Payne Family Native American Center. In this project, the design response to the brief could have revolved around the distinct site context of the building, where the new building was to be situated next to several historical buildings already present on the site. The usual approach of '*neo traditional form with a subtle nod to Native American culture and history*' was a strong prospect for the new building design. However, **Daniel Glenn** opted to involve elders from the Seven Tribes as well as the Tribal College faculty into the design process. During the discussions, some of the elders had strong reactions to the 19th and 20th century buildings around the site, as the style of the old buildings reminded them of the old schooling system and **'the killing of the Indian'** ideology. To them, the building represented effectively colonization. The design took a radical turn and the community members wanted a *'boldly Native American building'*. As a result, members of twelve tribes gathered at the site. This led to a design with a circular heart in the center of the building, dedicated for gathering. This was a direct reference to culturally secret gathering places in, for example, the tepee lodges. The project recognized that the context of site can have a historically different perspective for the Indigenous people. The design response was direct in its symbolism, but because it was stirred from the community involvement, the meaning of it was borne out of respect and does not depend on the personal need for validation on the architect's part.[10]

7.3 MEANING IN INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE

Some Indigenous symbols have become loaded with meaning over the decades, when they have been curated by non-Indigenous people, especially when they have been utilized in commercial use. However, '*Indigenous communities do like to reflect their identity through building*'.[11]

'The need to rhetorically validate a building's appropriateness, whether one focuses upon its functionality, symbolic value or aesthetics, is a general architectural concern well beyond the Sámi context. Nonetheless, such a need seems to be particularly crucial in a context where the architects mostly hail from outside the given culture and where sensitive issues of identity are at stake.' [12]

In Saami culture, the lávvu syndrome, as described by Nango, is a relevant phenomena in design. The lávvu is as a form is very similar to a tepee lodge. Different types of lávvu forms have been used frequently in tourism and in many other applications of the built environment around the Northern Hemisphere.[13]

Tourism plays an inmportant role in architecture, and is an accurate expression of the time we live in. Iconic buildings have become travel destinations, and the need for strong visual impact in building has been emphasized by this behaviour. Architecture currently produces objects of admiration. The culture of 'star architects' is extended and validated by the relationship which is borne out of the need a city currently has for its buildings.[14] It could be even argued that cities 'collect' buildings by famous architects.

'Reflecting on this changed status for architects and their attention grabbing designs, Rem Koolhaashas observed that the 'idolatry of the market has drastically changed our [architects'] legitimacy and status even though our status has never been higher ... It is really unbelievable what the market demands [from architecture] now. It demands recognition, it demands difference and it demands iconographic qualities.' [15]

Lávvu has become a part of this system in the way it has lent itself to spaces as a part of the tourism industry and within the wider world of commerzialism. Perhaps the lávvu's fate is not entirely the fault of architects as according to Hautajärvi '*professional architectural design has lost significance in the tourism in Lapland in the 1960s.*'[16] However, the use of the form has resulted in a certain type of value being associated with it, and with this, it has been removed from its orignal Saami context.

With the form of lávvu, meaning can be now interpreted in many ways. It is not simply one narrative of lávvu which has been generated through it´s non-Indigenous context. There is relevant historical accuracy that is part of the glossary of Saami people themselves. Lávvu is an inseparable part of the traditionally nomadic life of the reindeer herding Saami, with its own secret symbolism and behaviors[17]. This culture reflects a strong meaning, and places value on the form. Understanding this is the minimal requirement in discussing. Nonetheless, lávvu has less to do with the traditional lifestyle of the Anarâš people, because nomadic reindeer herding has not been in the center of the culture in the same way it has been for some other Saami communities.

Today lávvu is also a very practical application of shelter, which most people living in the Sápmi have some sort of a relationship with. It remains part of the practical, everyday life situations. It becomes very apparent that how you approach the form is central to how it is received.

Kuáti is similar in form and purpose to lávvu. Kuáti is seen in many ways as the epicenter of the Saami-built environment as it embodies all aspects of Saami traditional knowledge: the area, the materials, the earth and the season. In 2009, the Goahtehuksen project initiated a build, where a kuáti was to be built in Gilišillju (Kautokeino Village Museum). The project sought experienced and talented kuáti builders, knowledge holders, much like language masters are in language learning, who were to be in charge of the build. The project was carefully documented, and it involved bachelor students of duodji from the the Sámi University, Norway. The project was anchored in two initiatives, where it worked as a record on how to build a kuáti, and as an example on how traditional knowledge is passed down in a social context.[18]

In terms of meaning, it is also relevant to consider this kind of participatory sharing in creating a built environment. There are many traditional skills that would benefit from this type of

Killing indian "A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man." (http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929/) The United States Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania was a gouvernment run school for Indian children which opened in 1879. Around 12 000 children passed the doors of Carlisle. It was soon followed with almost 30 other schools. Pratt's "philosophy meant administrators forced students to speak English, wear Anglo-American clothing, and act according to U.S. values and culture."(https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-carlisle-indian-industrial-school-assimilation-with-education-after-the-indian-wars-teaching-with-historic-places.htm) The effects of these schools on Indigenous communities, culture and families were horrendous. The schools that children were sent off to were sometimes thousands of miles away from the child's home and physical and emotional violance were daily occurances to many children. (Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 733-736)

Daniel J Glenn (AIA, AICAE) is the principle architect on 7 Directions Architects/Planners, a native American owned firm based in Seattle, Washington, specializing in culturally and environmentally responsive architecture and planning. He is of Apsáalooke [Crow] Nation. (Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 108)

9 Zeiger 2020; Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 322-323
10 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 746-747
11 Surkan & Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 2017, 50
12 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 808
13 Zeiger 2020
14 Jones 2011, 120-121
15 Jones 2011, 120
16 SAO 2008, 29
17 Pieski & Harlin 2020, 75-76; SO 2008, 28
18 Porsanger & Guttrom 2011, 70-72

intergenerationl learnig in order for them to remain part of the living culture. Utilizing similar principles as in the kuáti project, the passing of traditional skills could be realized as a part of my building design. This type of practise would also involve the community in the physical building project.

In Anarâš tradition, kuáti is a home, a turf hut, built out of wood and earth. It is a more permanent version of lávvu. Kuáti also means a nest in Anaråškielâ. The word kuáti is also used in the name of a website for children's educational material about Saami culture and languages[19]. The theme of nest is repeated in the Anarâškielâ language nest names. The Avveel language nest is called Kuáti. and the Aanaar language nests are called Piäju (fox or bear nest) and Piervâl (bird nest)[20]. As previously discussed, names in Saami languages and communities carry meaning[21]. From within the Anarâš community, there is a narrative woven through these words. How the relationship through names could or should be reflected in the building itself is an important concept to consider.

7.4 THE ART OF MATERIAL

Indigenous art occupies a special role in the Indigeneity of the design of Skokomish Campus and Community Center in Puget Sound in Washington, USA. Art is literally incorporated into the building and it has a tactile material presence. Glenn speaks about his work and expresses how they '*do not aim to replicate but to reflect the traditional structures and through material, they form a link between ancient and modern, as well as the traditional life and contemporary culture.*' [22] Floor patter in the building is based on Skokomish basket weaving. The interior of the building is designed by Mandan-Hidatsa architectural designer Kimberly Deriana.

> *'-- many of our tribal communities have only experienced a very superficial expression of culture in buildings, such as the addition of artworks, or the use of patterns and colours. The challenge now is to reflect on how culture once was completely integral to Indigenous architecture, in form, function, materials, orientation, siting and symbolism, and to consider how this level of integration may be possible in a contemporary building.*[23]'

The relationship with form, function and materiality in Saami culture can still be found in the ways that Saami people produce their handicrafts. Today, duodji is a clearly refined way of working with material, but it also plays a part in the Saami people's culture of survival, their relationship with environment and even the tasks of mundane everyday life. Similarly, as the role of community has changed, the role of duodji has also changed. It is no longer direct means to survive, but has rather become a symbol of identity and art.[24]

All these aspects of duodji could be considered in the relationship between an architect and a Saami building. As duodji is something produced by a Saami person and it is tightly related to the environment it is produced in, I see it as a relevant thing to be examined in the conversation about self-determination in contemporary Saami architecture. Duodji is described by Magga to '*balance between collective culture, commercialism and personal identity projects.*'[25] Magga discusses the internal appropriation within the Saami community in relation to 'correct' duodji. Saami people tend to have robust responses to what is the correct way to produce or how to wear duodji. The continuous self-assessment, as a part of your community, in term of your duodji, is a very real part of a Saami person's life.[26] Duodji can be a powerful way of communicating what group a person belong to, marital status or even what one thinks about a certain situation. It also connects one with the mental and intangible values of the culture and is part of social interaction and relationships.[27]

It might be beneficial to consider duodji and the ways it could inform building through its materiality. Perhaps, duodji could be reflected as a part of tangible and physical part of the building design, not just as a part of the intangible symbolism.

19 Kuáti 2021
20 Olthuis, Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, 49
21 Elo & Magga 2007, 16, 65-75
22 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 808
23 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 772
24 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 771
25 Magga 2018, 72
26 Magga 2018, 23-26,
27 Magga 2018, 57, 65-66

7.5 SAJOS

To me, it feels relevant to take a closer look at Sajos Cultural Center building because in terms of identity, it is the most important building for the Saami people in Finland. It is the seat of power, the Capitol and the place for gathering. In the context of my research, I was interested in finding out what the architects' vision for this building was and how Saami identity is presented through it.

The architectural competition for the Saami Cultural Center takes into account the building's Saami setting and evens provides direction relating to environmental issues. The competition guidelines set the objectives for the building design as: *architectural and cultural, environmental and life cycle, convertibility, sustainability, functionality and economical.*[1]

There is a complicated but necessary conversation needed about the existance of the Sämitigge as a part of this building. The Sajos building's role as a national symbol is discussed nowhere. This discussion around the building as a symbol of the Saami nation, should have been investigated through social and political aspects of architecture. Architecture is a strong instigator for advocating power in our surroundings. The Indigenous reality as a part of the parlimetary aspect of the building represents a very specific political narrative and identity in relation to this building.

> *'The images, metaphors, and rhetorical turns from which national idelogies are built are essential devices, cultural devices designed to render one or another aspect of the board process of collective self-redefiniton, to cast essentialist pride or epochalist hope into specific symbolic forms, where more than dimly felt, they can be described, developed, celebrated and used.' Objects and events, monuments and ceremonies, all contribute meaningful symbols of the production and consolidation of the 'we'.*[2]

No articles, discussions or comments by the professional field relating to what it means to design a new Indigenous capitol has been produced. Presumably, in the general architectural discourse social and political aspects of the design are still somewhat sparsely discussed. The role this building - and the Saami parliment generally - has is highly significant. Its existence is a rather singular happening in Indigenous cultural self-determination.

There is a difference in the way the building as a whole is viewed by myself as Saami and how the architectural narrative of it is analysed by myself as architect. What the Sajos represents to Saami people in terms of the parliament it houses, and the different cultural systems it supports, is very central in what value the building has to people. To a certain extent, it does not matter what shape the building takes as the strong meaning it has through its function is sufficient. This is not contestable. I am proud that this building exists. Therefore, my analysis is not meant to diminish its value, but to contribute to the discussion about Saami spaces and how the conversation around them could be approached in the future.

7.5.1 THE ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION

There are three documents which provide insight into how the project of the Saami Cultural Centre was organize. The architectural competition material gives direct access to the way the context around the building was organized for the architects and *the Implementation and Finishing Report* shows how the project was run over the years. Each of the assessed projects in the architectural competition recieved a valuation in written format. This document focuses in how the competition panel viewed the proposals they received.

The architectural competition for the cultural centre was organized by Senaatti, and the competition board had members from Senaatti, Sämitigge, The Ministry of Finances, Aanaar Municipality and SAFA. Specialists included representatives from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Justice, Giellagas Institute and Senaatti.[3] In the competition guidelines, the appendix contained a seven

page document written by **Veli-Pekka Lehtola** about Saami people and their relationship with space and culture. The text was divided into four parts.

> *Diversity in Saami tradition;*
> *Environmental identity of Saami people;*
> *Saami aesthetics; and*
> *Space of encountering.*[4]

The architectural competition aimed to '*find a high-quality architectural solution for the building as well as a design solution which would embody the being of Saami*'. According to competition guidelines, the designs were supposed to be based on the aesthetics and practicality of traditional handicrafts.[5]

In 2008, the architectural competition for the building received 58 proposals and 57 of them were valuated. Six of the proposals were invited to the second phase of the competition and each of these had a follow-up plan drawn out for them. The winning proposal was called **Ađa** and it was made by Halo Architects.[6]

It was mentioned that an exhibition was held in Siida after the second phase of the competition. The document does not clarify if this exhibition invited people to give their comments on the design proposals, or if there was any kind of local hearing on the proposed architecture.[7]

7.5.2 ORGANIZATION

My approach toward this building is rooted in a need to understand the meaningful driving forces behind the design. In practical terms, the Saami Cultural Center is owned by Senaatti properties and the Sämetigge with the other users are renting the building from them. The project for the new Cultural Center started in 2001 in the form of a preparation and development project called Sagu. After comparing different options for the site, Aanaar was agreed upon because of its good connections, attractiveness to tourism, the strong local municipality services, and because the area already had the Saami Museum, The Sámi Education Institution, Saami Radio and many other Saami organizations present.[8]

In 2004, a committee was formed by the Ministry of Justice for establishing the continuing progress of the Saami Cultural Center Project. The committee included members representing Lapland Provincial Government, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Education, Senaatti Properties, Lapland Alliance, Lapland TE-Services, Aanaar Municipality, Sämitigge and the Sámi Education Institute. The Committee has to determine the detailed operation of the Cultural Center and the space program to accommodate it, the possible financing of the project and the timetable and realisation of the project. In 2007, the financing of the project was enrolled in the Finnish state budget.[9] Senaatti was responsible for the construction of the building, which included cooperation with the construction companies, bidding, organizing the architectural competition and informing the building process. The steering group for the project included members from Senaatti, Sämitigge, Aanaar Municipality, Sámi Duodji ry and SámiSoster ry. The group met 14 times during the project and they followed, guided and oversaw the progress and the use of finances for the Culture Centre project. In 2009, the steering group also included representatives from the building's restaurant and its archives.[10]

Saami people remaind present throughout the organizational processes relating to the actualizing of the cultural center. I am not contesting the Saami peoples' ability to affect the decision making on the building. However, I think it is relevant to discuss the building against Vales analysis, where the symbolism of capitol is a product of:

1. *the subnational group allegiances and preferences of the sponsoring regime;*
2. *the priorities of the architect's long-term design agenda; and*
3. *the government's interest in pursuing international identity through modern architecture and planning which may be tied to issues of economic development.*[11]

It is relevant to examine the way the architectural narrative is created as part of this building, how it can be viewed against the Indigenous design protocols and what role the architectural competition played in this. I interpret this as a Saami architect while I also reflect on the thoughts of Vale and Jones.

> *In short, the architectural competition is an important part of the elite subfield, in which symbolic conflicts over power and identity – as well as economic capital – are played out.*[12]

7.5.3 THE ART OF KNOWING

Because the architectural proposals were made for a competition, it is impossible to discern how the design processes were executed from practise to practise. Based on the commentary made by the competition board, it seems that in most cases the vision of the architect was projected freely on the design, while the Saami forms were investigated in a 'non-stereotypical' way. Most of the symbolism in the Sajos building is appropriate. The objects HALO Architects used as precedents are quintessentially Saami. They have not been commonly used, so they can be seen as innovative. Yet, they are still symbols picked by the non-Saami people. They are inserted into the collective narrative of this building. From the Indigenous view point, having a say in the spaces that are created for you, indeed already during the design phase itself, is a valid tool in decolonizing the spacemaking.

Lehtola also talks about symbolism and stereotypes in his text. I am not sure if his input has really been internalized by the architects who produced the competition proposals. I see Lehtola's text as relevant in the whole process of materialising this building, because it is this information about Saami people and their culture included in the competition material which was written by a Saami person. This text was received by all the architects who took part in the competition. If the building was based on Lehtola's text, it should have been able to represent Saami people as one, while still celebrating their beautiful multicultural entirety.[13] I do not think this comes across or indeed has been fully understood in the narratives being woven by the architectural proposals. There is no segment on this in feedback given by the competition board. The aspiration of the building was to produce a sense of Indigeneity through non-Indigenous application by the architects. This approach can never succeed.

Lehtola's solution for the misuse of symbols is to utilize the Saami artists and their personal relationship to the colors and glossary of images.[14] In the Indigenous architectural process, even in the event of a competition, the involvement should have included the communities, the people, and their view on how they see their capitol. Using artists as consultants and as a part of the design team would have been an effective way to do this.

The role of Saami art becomes somewhat superficial in the proposals architectural context. It does not contribute to the Saami narrative of the building in a meaningful way. There has not been a sophisticated consideration of how the Saami mentality is reflected through 'art' in terms of the building materials themselves. Some of the ways this could have been achieved can be seen in the detail examples by Haugdal.[15]

However, it is interesting that one of the competition finalists, the project called Báiki, had included the Saami artist **Outi Pieski** in the design process. Pieski suggested that the natural stone floor in the design would have images based on the Saami drum inserted into it. In the artist's view, the imagery is relevant to Saami people regardless of its use in, for example, commercial endeavours.[16] As an object, the drum is a sensitive topic in Saami culture. Valkonen mentions a case in her book where the drum symbols were used in a hotel interior in Rovaniemi. The Saami committee demanded that the symbols were not be used in this way. In their view, this use of imagery offends the Indigenous Saami people because drum symbols are a part of their intangible herritage. However, the Sämitigge at the time expressed the opinion that the Saami people do not own these symbols, as they are universal, so there is no basis for Saami people to give guidance relating to the use of them.[17] These symbols are incredibly relevant. The way Saami people

Ađa was the name of the winning proposal. There was a name competition for the building. It was won by Kuobž-Saammâl Matti's (Matti Morottaja) proposal Sajos. Sajos is an Anarâškielâ word which could be translated as 'a base' or 'position of a place'. (Loppuraportti 2012, 9)

Senaatti (Properties) is the work environment partner and specialist of the Finnish government and they manage the government's property assets and their efficient use.
SAFA is the Finnish Architects Association.

Veli-Pekka Lehtola *(born 1957) is Professor of Sámi Culture in the Giellagas Institute at the University of Oulu, Finland. Lehtola is a (North) Sámi from Aanaar or Inari in Northern Finland. As a researcher, Lehtola is specialised in the history of the Sámi and Lapland, in modern Sámi art, as well as in the development of the Sámi representations. He has published the book The Sámi People – Traditions in Transition in 2004 (University Press of Alaska). His main work in Finnish, Saamelaiset suomalaiset – kohtaamisia 1896-1953 (Sámi Finns – Encounters in 1896-1953 (SKS) was published in 2012. Lehtola has published thirteen books and over a hundred scientific articles in Finnish, Sámi and English, also translated to Swedish, French, German, Hungarian and Russian. (https://www.veli-pekkalehtola.fi/en/)*

1 SAO 2008, 15
2 Vale 1992, 47
3 SAO 2008, 3
4 SAO 2008, 26-32
5 Loppuraportti 2012, 9; SAO 2008, 7
6 Loppuraportti 2012, 11
7 SAO 2008, 5
8 Loppuraportti 2012, 2-3
9 Loppuraportti 2012, 3-4
10 Loppuraportti 2012 6-7
11 Vale 2008, 53
12 Jones 2011, 35
13 SAO 2008, 26-27
14 SAO 2008, 32
15 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 823-824
16 Senatti-kiinteistöt lehdistötiedote 2008, SALK 2008, 17,24
17 Valkonen 2009, 201
18 Pieski & Harlin 2020

identify with the drums is an important part of the decolonization process.

In Pieski's other project she collaborated with Eeva-Kristiina Harlin. In the architecture of the Saami Cultural Center, use of the symbols could have become a part of a similar process. This project was about the headdress that was worn by Saami women until the 19th Century. The Saami headdress was used in the Norwegian and Finnish part of the Sámi home area. The project is presented through a book called *Ládjogahpir – Máttaráhkuid gábagahpir, The Foremother's Hat of Pride*.[18] The loss of this part of the culture has been referred to **Lestadiuse**'s dislike of this piece of clothing and his belief that devil lived in the wooden part, which gives it its shape. Similarly to the drums, the headdresses were burned in masses. Through the work of Pieski and Harlin, the remaining headdresses in museums abroad were studied and exhibited. New ones were produced and they are once again worn by Saami women.

It could have been possible to see a similar type of reclaiming as a part of the Sajos building. With the drum symbols, it is true that externally and internally Saami communities do struggle to relate to them. This does not mean that Saami people do not own these symbols and should not be able to utilize the imagery in the representation of their culture in the way that they see appropriate. Fortunately, even though the floor proposal was never used, the Sajos building still included a meaningful art workdone by Pieski.[19]

Lestadius Lars Levi Lestadius (1800-1861) was a priest who grew up in Swedish Lapland. He became a lead figure in a revivalist movement which later grew into different factions of the Lutheran Church in Finland.
(Lehtola 29015, 61-63; https://evl.fi/sanasto/-/glossary/word/Lestadiolaisuus)

Outi Pieski *(b. 1973) is a Sámi artist who works with painting, installations and collaborative-collective art projects. Her works deal with the rights of the indigenous people, decolonisation and the interdependence of nature and culture. In her art, Pieski draws from the visual tradition of the Sámi and bringing forth the situation of a minority cultuare to whom political channels have been closed. (https://www.institut-finlandais.fr/en/projects/if-galerie/duddjot/outi-pieski/)*

Picture 7.2 Interior of the Skokomish Community Centre by 7 Direction Architects.

7.5.4 INSPIRATION BEHIND SAJOS

The valuation of the winning work states how the design '*does not, with any clear objective, take into account Saami cultural tradition, form, or vision, however it has significantly more themes that can be recognized by Saami people through their symbolic context than the other competition proposals.*'[20] According to the architect, the form of the building is based on the traditional handicrafts.

> *'Saami people do not have proper tradition of public buildings, so we started from the language of form in the Saami everyday items. We aspired to find a cultural spirit for the whole building. It was absolutely important for us that the end result would be multifaceted. When viewed from the air, the building can bring into mind a hat of four winds, but also there can be seen jewelleries made out of reindeer bone or hide of a reindeer.*
>
> *Another idea carried through was that in Saami tradition, the outside space is in a way a practical extension of the indoor space and because of this the building cannot be closed off. The recurring oval form can be found in Kiisa, which is the storing box and in komsio which is childrens' sledge or cradle, and it has been used both in the outside form of the building as well as on the most important elements inside the building.*
>
> *The plan of the building is designed around a star which is a functional and cheap option. After the threshold it is effortless to move to every space in the building. Functional solution helps to reduce waste in square meters, which in its turn lowers the expenses and is also energy efficient.'* [21]

The architects examined how they '*aspired to find a cultural spirit for the whole building.*' I find this rhetoric problematic in terms of the current dialogue around Indigenous ownership and decolonization. The architects claim that they extensively studied the forms of the Saami handicrafts and that their aim was to find *'a typical Saami geometry - one that would not be a direct copy of some existing thing or object.'*[22] It is paradoxal how there is a continuous narrative of the objects that were used as precedents for the building and its form, yet at the same time there is a claim of not intending to replicate anything. Somewhere in the architectural writing, they suddenly start to talk about geometry, rather than the objectives of duodji. It is as though objects are turned into the language of architecture, and that they become property of the creative process. Louekari writes:

> *'Sajos is a beautifully executed entity, embodying masterly handling of form and material, from its remarkable overall geometry right down to the detail. - In analysing the Sajos building it seems unnessesarly to deal with its function or even its aesthetic detail - the work is powerful enough to blend the detail into the impressive whole.'* [23]

In his analysis Louekari discusses the building's authenticity. To him, the building represents young Finnish architecture that is not apart from its time. He calls into question the building's authenticity and is careful with his analysis about the forms and their relation to duodji. '*When dealing with the cultural center for the Sámi people, we can talk about cultural authenticity in the sense of the connection between the architectural language applied and Sámi culture.*' Louekari also recognizes that the forms that are used as inspiration for the building shape are introduced in the entrance of the building. This leads me to consider whether the forms of the Saami objects are seen questionable as part of an authentic design. Is this because they have been invented as a part of the Saami culture and are therefor not products of the architect? Is this the reason that the focus shifts to geometry? He does mention that as a concept, the use of the forms might appear as contrived.[24] Jones writes how:

> *'Without offering a strong interpretation of their own buildings, architects are in danger of leaving the interpretation of their work 'open'. Instead of actually etching text on to buildings or loading them with ostentatious ornamentation to signify national victories, as was often the case in an earlier modernity, contemporary designers tend to use more narrative associations when attempting to insert their buildings into political discourses such as, for example, democracy, transparency or openness.'* [25]

The design of Sajos uses the physical set of objects next to the entrance of the building in an exhibition cabinet to introduce meaning into the actual building form. I see this as a quite clever way to insert a more complex set of cultural values as part of the identity of the building immidiately upon entering. However, simply reading into cultural objects in order to create a narrative on behalf of Saami people, generally in architecture, still exists on the outskirts of contributing toward the experience of colonization. Jones writes on in his chapter about monuments:

> *'Generally speaking, this work has questioned which memories are to be objectified and how, with the aim of drawing attention to the highly partial nature of any collective remembering, which is always and everywhere equally dependent on a kind of collective forgetting. This tension is often in evidence in major architectural projects, and, commenting on the absent voices in such narratives, Hilde Heynen has noted that 'memory and amnesia seem to operate in conjuncture rather than in opposition' (1999b: 369), with memorialization requiring 'that a restricted set of meanings be abstracted, a process that necessarily implies that other meanings be forgotten' (Kerr 2002: 71).'* [26]

The design is firmly set around form in this building. This building is not a monument of memory, and this is simply because no Saami people were part of the design process. I see no deeper meaning in the physical form of the building even though the narrative of Saami objects is present. Authenticity in this context is not relevant in terms of the building design itself, but in terms of who is part of the design process. Here, authenticity is part of the Indigeneity of the building.

There is clearly personal interaction between a Saami artist and their 'object'. Pieski's work in the parliamentary room in Sajos: '*Eatnu, eadni, eana – stream, mother, ground*'[27] builds meaning through the use of North Saami words because of the similarity they have. To Pieski, the relevance of such meaning is deeply personal. Both the language and the relationship she has with her grandmother form meaningful references which are evident in her art work. Perhaps because of the elusive nature of identity and indeed tradition, the architectural interpretation should not concern itself so much with objects. In the development of the identity of an Indigenous building, the narrative around the building can afford to involve itself with more abstract topics, such as family, the spiritual, continuity and earth.

7.5.5 THE ART OF RELATIONSHIPS

Louekari furthers his analysis and he finds deep meaning in the way the building '*spatially configurates with its reference to nature*'.[28] He sees relevance in a way the building's circulation is situationed next to the exterior wall, placing the person as though between *a precipice and the landspace opening beyond*. To him, the building repeats in its dimensions the inner speciousness of the nature that it is part of. Because of this, Sajos *requires unbroken natural space around it*.[29] I talked about Saami people's relationship with environment earlier. While Loekari's analysis is rather beautiful, quite pragmatically, insted of the visual objectives a view has, it would be more relevant to discuss how the outside space performs in terms of Saami people who use the building.

When you read Lehtola's text, he highlights the importance of the relationship Saami people have with the environment and using *'nature's own aesthetics'*. He basis the important aspects of Saami built environment on the relationship between practicality and aesthetics, functionality, flexibility, creativity and ecological thinking. He also puts value on simplicity as the northern climate does not accommodate complicated, self-important or exaggerated solutions. In the end of his text, Lehtola repeates the importance of creating a space for practical working as well as for encounters of people and community activity.[30]

19 Pieski 2021
20 SAA 2008, 14
21 Projekti uutiset 2012
22 ARK 2012, 39
23 ARK 2012, 30
24 ARK 2012, 30
25 Jones 2011, 36
26 Jones 2011, 94
27 Pieski 2021
28 ARK 2012, 30
29 ARK 2012, 30
30 SAO 2008, 31

The competition board took quite a stark view on the quality of design proposals relating to Saami identity. They commented on how the proposals have not been able to connect with the Saami cultural tradition or reflect it in their architectural solutions. Similarly, they criticized the competition participants' ability to understand the specific natural and climate conditions that the building is part of. According to them, all references to the specific environment of Aanaar area were based on very general and common ideas of the Finnish nature. To them this reflects directly on the technical aspects of the designs. For example, the way that snow behaves throughout the seasonal changes adds substantial pressure on material, detailing and structural aspects of the building, and even the most promising design proposals in the competition had not taken this into account properly. [31]

I am unsure if any of the design phases for the other competition proposals included Saami people, apart from Báiki. Laukka said in an interview HALO architects had no members of staff from Lapland, when they were asked about their relationship with northern nature. In an interview, the architect inspects how their personal relationship with nature both with the general Finnish as well as the northern landscape is close to them because of their hobbies such as fishing. To them, this personal relationship had been '*an important point of departure both for the understanding of the design brief and designing the building.*' [32]

For me, an authentic aspect of my work relates to the unique experience I have with my existence, and there for the experience I have about being a Saami person is valid in the design work I do. I cannot discriminate against other architects in having the same right in their work.

> *'it is these personal stories that infuse an architectural process/ project with meaning for the community the users the inhabitants the nation and the designers'* [33]

However, this does not give me a free reign to interpret any given situation based on how I feel. Like everyone else, the engagement and self-education on issues around each individual Indigenous community is still work I continue to do. The northern nature has an element to it that is different than general Finnish experience on landscape and that difference is the Saami people.

7.5.6 THE FORM

It is notable how the competition emphasizes the ecological solutions, heat economy and life cycle of the building as desirable values in the material that is provided. In the feedback after the first part of the competition, the board highlights how the proposals reflect the lack of understanding about ecological design practises in Finland. The proposals did not take into account important aspects such as the type of building, volume, sun and wind conditions (passive design solutions) or the preconditions of the energy economy. Nearly all of the design solutions relied on technology, and only one project had '*investigated architectural solutions in having some sort of response to issues around ecology, climate and energy economy.*' [34]

Generally, the problematic part of the relationship architects have with form is how architectural work is evaluated through the plan and its symbolism. To me, this relates directly to the difficulty in understanding how the architectural solutions respond to the sustainable issues. The way that plans are read by architects and sold to people outside the profession is often carelessly used as a tool in producing a narrative. When in fact, and we know this, the spaces that we create are never experienced in two dimensions or plan view by people. On its own, a view cannot solve problems - the resolution must be answered or found in form.

I find Vale's assesment on postcolonial capitol relevant.

> *'Yet, to the extent that these places are discussed at all, assesments are too frequently couched solely in formal terms. Or if there is some attempt to interpret the form, the place is reduced to cultural symbol, detached from the social and economic forces that helped to produce it.'* [35]

The HALO architects have obviously spent time to develop an understanding of the forms that are produced in duodji. They claim their ambition was for the building to be multifaceted. However, if they mean multifaceted only in terms of the form, doing this with sophistication requires deeper reading into the forms than simply opening a book and looking at common Saami artifacts. Based on the research I have done on Sajos, the indoor spaces in the building and how they physically relate to people is crucial. 'Multifaceted' does not mean that the form can be read from the sky as a different Saami objects. Rather, it means that the building has a layered value through the functional ability to change. The form should be built out of materiality and a familiarness that is complex. The space should be able to be utilized by people for any occasions to meet their needs

The two jewellery boxes, as they are described by the architects, are the present shapes in the building. One of these boxes has the auditorium, the other has the parliament hall in it. To me there is no visual connection no relationship internally - perhaps because of the lack of threshold between the public space and these containers. The space of power is hidden away.

However, and most importantly, what happens in between these two strong shapes is the disconnected part of the design for me. The internal awkwardness in the building is between the practical aspects of the design and the more visually orientated objectives. The Sajos building's public space - the entrance in this case - is rather awkward. I do not feel this public space is positively served by the general shape of the building. Intead, it feels as though the negative space is left to be occupied by people in the best way possible as there is no designated shared public space. A hugely positive impact of the building, could be found in sitting down and sharing a cup of coffee or tea. This is something that ties my experience of community together. It is this shared communal space that connects the inside and outside world. We drink hot beverages by the fire with family and friends inbetween working at home and when we visit. In the past, the coffee was enjoyed with salt. Today, most often when hot drinks are shared, so are conversations: an argument over current affairs or laughter. So, even though the restaurant has a huge economical effect on the entire building, as it draws in visitors, it should also be central in connecting to one another. As it stands, the space is not delivering to its full potential. The cafe-restaurant which could be the heart of the community and function as a meeting-space for others, and sharing, is currently completely cut off in its placament at the back of the building. In this sense, Sajos is not a building of the people.

It is difficult to convey symbolism in a plan and then translate it into a physical experience in a building. In the case of Sajos, the form of the plan creates interesting spaces inside. Like Louekari and the architects analyze, there is meaning in the internal dimensions of the building. Regardless, the value in the shape of the building would not be clear without the oral story being told by the architect and the people associated with the building who know what the shapes of the spaces symbolize. It is this verbal telling that creates the meaning for Sajos. It is part of the way that architecture operates - but where has this story coming from? This is the most intersting aspect of this building to me.

7.5.7 THE FUNCTION

Sajos has the responsibility to deliver the Saami communities an economically, ecologically and socially responsible design. Sajos is not yet 10 years old and it is difficult to assess how it is performing until it comes to its first repairs. I cannot find any public reports or studies on the environmental or technical performance of the Sajos building; only the vague pre-plans relating to how it is thought to work through its *ecological* measures after it is finished.[36] The fact that no research is conducted or feedback is provided relating to how a space performs is frustrating. I love how a project by Arizona State University, together with ASU College of Architecture and Environmental Design students, many of whom were Navajo people themselves, produced a house for Navajo elders with Glenn as their team leader. To me, their engagement with a building after its completion presents a simple example of how the Augustines, who lived in the house, interacted with the design and how it was

adjusted.

> *'Additionally, a key lesson was learned during the monitoring process: we had installed a radiant floor system in the house, and we determined that it was a very efficient heat source, which was only turned on a few hours a day in the coldest part of winter. However, the Augustines were never able to acclimate themselves to the system. They had heated their homes for their entire lives with wood stoves, and they had grown accustomed to heating with wood, and Kee Augustine, who was in his 80s and increasingly infirm, loved to stoke the fire as one of his primary activities.'* [37]

We do not talk enough about buildings once they are inhabited. In environmental design, the most unpredictable aspect in the whole equation is the user and their response to the design solutions applied in the buildings. Professionally assessing response and reception to architectural spaces should be a regular part of our discourse. The only relevant document relating to this on Sajos that I was able to locate was Inergia's Yearly report from 2016, where it was stated that Senaatti Properties had ordered a refurbishment of the Sajos building's electrical systems. This is a simple remark within the paperwork which points to how the building is performing. More information and time devoted to pursuing this aspect of building performance could benefit the profession as a whole. [38]

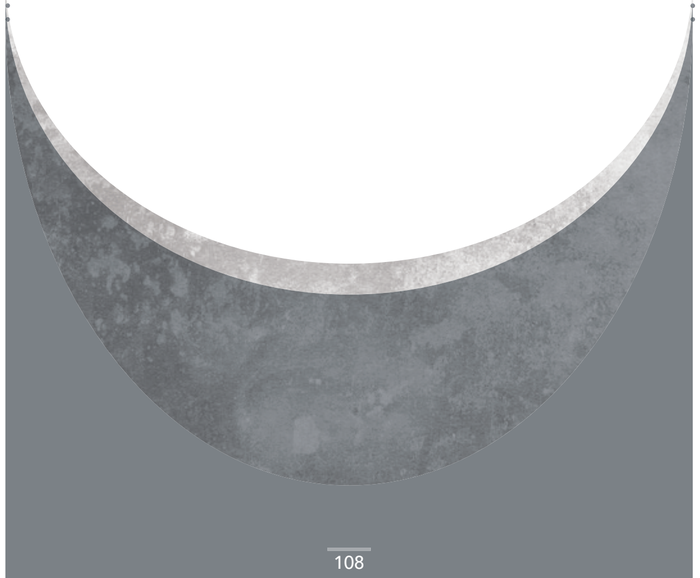
The building's star shape is '*functional and inexpensive*'. The building report states that the structural planning of the cultural center aspired for the functionality of the spaces which were *'based on adaptability, multifunctionality and practical programming of the spaces'*. The flexibility of structural and technical solutions enable the ability to quickly change the use of spaces. However, while extending the building is possible, this would be difficult.[39] In the same project report, it is later stated that one of the most challenging aspect of the project was complicated architectural solutions.[40] The interview with Lukka discusses how building Sajos out of wood was important.[41] However, the reality is that the building is structurally concrete - meaning that the building is simply dressed in wood. It is not as such, a timber building. Haugdal writes about use of wood in Saami architecture as a means of building an identity. I agree that when the wood is local, it connects the building to the place in which it is situated. I feel that timber should be seriously investigated as a possible structural option if it is being discussed as a basis for a project. Furthermore, there is nothing wrong with a bit of expression, in terms of how timber is used visually.[42]

In Saami building design, the equation of material should be considered on several levels, as material is bound to a place, to discovery and to adaptable problem-solving.[43] Materials are the palette an architect uses. They are the tactile articles used in architect's quest for creating space and meaning, and they often give us the license for creativity. They are part of the science in which that we partake as a profession, and so they directly affect how a building performs. Material as a concept is something the profession will be forced to consider in the coming decades. The European direction is firmly moving towards a zero-carbon future in building, and the materiality of the future will look different than it does today. This will, undoubtedly, directly affect the course that architecture will take. In building, understanding the location, invention and adaptable-problem solving might become indispensable indeed. I see the relationship with building materials and art as a highly ambitious part of the design work. This has not yet been investigated to its full potential in Saami architecture, or indeed in Finnish architecture generally.

31 SAA 2008, 7-9
32 ARK 2012, 39
33 Kiddle, Stewart & O'Brien 2018, 37
34 SAA 2008, 7
35 Vale 1992, 48
36 SAA 2009, 14
37 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 738, 741
38 Inergia, 2016, 21
39 Loppuraportti 2012, 12
40 Loppuraportti 2012, 18
41 ARK 2012, 39
42 Loppuraportti 2012, 12; Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 814-820
43 Zeiger 2020; Magga 2018, 23-26

Picture 7.3 Pulling a seine into a boat.

8.0 ARCHITECTURE IS ALWAYS POLITICAL



INDIGENOUS LED

Ensure Indigenous stakeholders oversee creative development
and the design process.

The International Indigenous Design Charter clearly states Indigenous peoples have the right to oversee the creative development and design process of design work that seeks to engage with Indigenous knowledge. The International Indigenous Design Charter asks designers to: engage with local Indigenous designers who are connected with the relevant communities and provide opportunities for them to oversee the creative development and design process; and, employ Indigenous staff or consultants where possible

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 10, 31)

8.1 IMAGINATION

Architecture can be directly used in the production of meaning and feeling. It is a powerful way to communicate. I find it relevant to understand how architecture and planning can be used to create a narrative, even when people are not aware of it. Decoding architecture as a medium of power and understanding how easily people become victims of it, is very important to me as an architect.

Responsibility in an Indigenous building project means that an architect needs to have an awareness of the history, culture and current situation of the community they are working with. '*Indigenous architecture must be viewed both as a social and political movement and as a design approach.*' [1] I do believe in the architect's role as an advocate of imagination, but as Fettes states in his article: *The Imagination is a dangerous tool. It thrives on fantasy, on counterfactuals, on riot and mayhem; it has no morals of its own.*[2] In an Indigenous building project, the architect should have the ability and the stamina to produce both a culturally intelligent and sophisticated building.[3] It is important to recognize where, to whom and when the building is **iconic**. Today, we work as a part of the corporate and capitalist system and it is unfortunately the legacy of the architecture we are working toward. In Indegenous architecture especially, it should be actively discussed how design work responds to the market. '*Creating an architecture of reconciliation is not a business model.*'[4]

8.2 RIGHT TO BE SUCCESSFUL

It is clear the expertise in the role of an architect depends on a variety of things. Assigning a demanding building project based on someone's Saami identity is not always feasible. There are not enough Saami architects to contribute to every building project in the Sápmi. Further, there are practical demands for the experience of an architect which may override other parameters relating to how a complex construction project is handled. This means that the design processes will involve people outside of the communities and this in itself is not necessarily a negative thing. However, the role of the Saami architect should be investigated as a part of the Indigenous architectural discourse.

Identity in architecture is still solidly based on the prevailing narrative around architect's success. We remain infatuated with ideas of iconic architecture and the 'star architect.'[5] We compete, we succeed and we earn money.

> *'Architects working on prestigious state commissions are increasingly engaged in managing the competing symbolic claims and identity discourses that centre on the high-profile projects that characterize the practice of their firms. The argument has been that a focus on the symbolic element of architectural form and its capacity to support diverse social meanings is often at the expense of a deeper critique of the unequal power relations that underpin the social production of architecture and the practices and values of those that commission it.'* [6]

As an Indigenous person, expertise lies in the exprience of one's identity, in the sensitivity to the culture and in understanding the role of the community. Jones writes how*: Architects' success owes at least as much to their social background and to the social structures within which they are embedded as it does to their native talent.*[7]

Laverdure, who is an Indigenous architect, contests strongly the responsibility of producing a design that is 'architecturally appropriate'. In an article about the Tribal Headquarter and College in Red Lake Nation, he explains how, at the start of the project, he was committed to a subtle design with a sensitive attitude towards native symbolism. However, as the community design process went forward, the building took a rather direct approach to the symbol of an eagle. The finished building is literally shaped like one. And herein lies the question: Who is allowed to criticize this? Is the building good architecture, if the general architectural critic does not see the building to belong in the framework of acceptable good taste of modern architecture? The Red Lake Nation building is recognized by its community as their own. The architect genuinely listened to the people who inhabit the building. So where would the mind of an non-Indigenous architect be situated in the conversation on the appropriateness of an eagle-shaped building? The Indigenous architect is already expected to have left their ego behind, long before they even put pen to paper. I join Laverdure in asking: Whose building is it anyway?[8]

The relationship between the architect and success is something that has become central to the research I have done. In the Indigenous projects, the conservative view on success presents itself as a secondary phenomenon. Because nearly all of Indigenous buildings are straightforward in their community involvement, they seem to relinquish a projection of power and become rather humble. Not humble in their ambitions, but humble in the ways that the architect relates to the community and to the knowledge of the culture that is at the center of the project. Therefor, whatever success follows a building's completion is a success for the whole community, not just the architect.

8.3 VALUE OF AN ARCHITECT

> *'Architecture of diminishing returns in which every sensational new building must attempt to eclipse the last one... designs, cutting edge when they were commissioned, are not any more. Architecture is characterised by long periods of intellectual inactivity, followed by moments of sudden movement.'* [9]

Architecture is a complex profession with many different perspectives relating to it. The work we do is difficult, and an architect's role should not be bundled up or simplified as a singular concept. However, it is universally true that architects do love to discuss architecture. As a profession, we have to identify the meaning, the narrative and seek validation for the work we do. In terms of Indigenous architecture, this is relevant when we examine the fact that *'the relationship between aesthetics, semiosis and political-economy is contingent and necessitates careful, historicized empirical engagement on a case-by-case basis.'*[10]

In Finland, it seems as though architecture somehow still upholds the illusion of artistic freedom, yet most of the architecture produced here could be done almost anywhere in the world. In terms of Indigenous architecture, the artistic freedom is perhaps not present in a form which we are used to engaging within the architecture school. Opening the dialogue around Indigenous Saami architecture and how Saami architecture should be approached might involve discussing uncomfortable topics around the general role of an architect. But the context is vividly different, and the role any Indigenous building plays for a community is significant enough for these questions to be seriously considered.

Naturally, I acknowledge that creativityris a valuable part of the work we do, yet, I have a strong suspicion that it has less meaning than we as architects would like to believe. The paradox of architecture lies in the ability we have to generate and manipulate feeling through space. I do think it is the one skill unique to an architect, especially as a part of a wider design team. It is also very central to us, in what we do. But as *architects and urban designers cannot determine symbolism over time*,[11] so too could the meaning of buildings be out of our control. From this perspective, if the Indigenous building is designed as a community, it is also perceived as a communal property. Therefore, the future role of the building should be more confidently based in the values of the people who inhabit it rather than the 'creator' of the building. The symbolism of the building would then be based on communal values.

Indigenous academics, and indeed architects, have a strong collective consensus on increasing their own communities' wellbeing through the work you do. Researching, publishing and being in charge of their own knowledge and materials they produce is an important part of the decolonization process.[12] One should always take a sense of responsibility with them, wherever they go. Based on this belief and practise, I feel the Saami architecture should comfort the system from within, when issues of building in the Sápmi and even urban areas are concerned, rather than seizing problems from the outside. This assumes rather directly that all Saami architects are somehow involved or interested in

Iconic *architecture is one manifestation of a long established symbiosis between politics, economy and culture; explicitly designed to spatialize a moment in a city's projected transition. (Jones 2011, 118-119)*

1 Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 307
2 May 1999, 31
3 PROCESS 2020
4 Surkan and Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 2017, 56
5 Jones 2011, 115-139
6 Jones 2011, 168
7 Jones 2011, 17
8 Kiddle, Luugigyoo & O'Brien 2018, 132-144
9 Jones 2011, 188
10 Jones 2011, 120
11 Vale 1992, 286
12 Kuokkanen 2002, 2-6 Kiddle, Luugigyoo & O'Brien 2018, 20-29

issues around their Indigenous communities. I am rather assertively making this assumption. Saami architecture and urbanism needs to be considered as part of the academic view on northernness, Arctic issues and Indigenous architectural practices.

Picture 8.1 Flood and rain on Liävdooluohtâ (Leutolahti).

9.0 SUSTAINABILITY

SHARED BENEFITS

Ensure Indigenous people share in the benefits from the use of their cultural knowledge, especially where it is being commercially applied.

The International Indigenous Design Charter encourages designers to share the benefits of the commercial outcomes with the traditional owners of the cultural knowledge.

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 22, 32)

9.1 THE CRISIS

One of the most valuable benefits Indigenous architecture and non-Indigenous architecture have in common is sustainability. Indigenous architecture places a strong emphasis on the issues around sustainability because the environment is closely tied to the traditional ways of life and home areas. For example, the reindeer-herding Saami had an exceptionally difficult winter during 2020. The living conditions made it increasingly challenging for the reindeer to survive.[1] Climate change is presently affecting the Arctic, and as we all know, the concerns about climate change have been voiced for some time. It is important to remember that Aanaar is closer to the North Pole than it is Paris.

Architecture has a huge responsibility towards tackling climate change. However, comprehending the wider context of sustainable design can be challenging. The seven generations thinking is often mentioned in association with Indigenous architecture. This attitude towards decision-making comes from the Haudenosaunee people and their culture. The seven generations mentality takes into consideration the effects that decisions taken will have for the next seven generations. This philosophy has been commonly applied in aiding the sale of things in 'green' business.[2] However, its origin is rooted in an Indigenous world view, and it does not limit itself just in the environment, nature and resources but it extents to, for example, relationships. Similar beliefs can be found in many other Tribes. Both Laverdure and Glenn talk about the seven generations in terms of the past three generations, the current generation and the three generations in the future. Here, time is part of culture and its continuity.[3]

I attended a symposium online[4], in which the Indigenous architect Chris Cornelius stated that Indigenous architecture alone has no singular solution to climate change. I wholeheartedly agree with this. Indigenous people have no responsibility to offer solutions for the climate crisis but they have every right to be heard as part of it. Indigenous architecture has a role in the conversation about sustainable design, as we all should have, but it will not offer the architects a simple way out. Because of this, I approach the general discussion around the traditional technology in terms of sustainable Indigenous design solutions, with caution. There is sometimes fascination and a sort of romanticism around this. People might come to your Indigenous yard and examine how idyllic everything is - beautiful and harmonious - but when they move around the corner, there is a person skinning reindeer legs for shoes, sweating with bloody hands, preparing for the winter. Practicality, cleverness and hardiness are the part of my culture that I wish people could see and recognize. Being sustainable is not always easy, it sometimes means you have to do slower work and more of it.

9.2 CLIMATE CHANGE AND KNOWLEDGE

The Finnish architectural field is still lacking in urgency. Addressing climate change as a part of the industry's core values is not at the center of the practice yet. Architects are aware of the '40% guilty', and whether it is founded or not, I feel personally responsible for the carbon footprint I will create during my career.

In 2019, global energy-related CO_2 emissions for the building construction industry was 38%. Out of this, 28% was related to building operations. This percentage is the highest it has ever been while the overall total has stayed at the same level as on the previous year.[5]

> *'Electricity consumption in buildings now represents around 55% of global electricity consumption (IEA 2020b). 2019 marked a stable level of building energy consumption for the first time since 2012 and sees energy intensity of floor space improve (IEA 2020a).'* [6]

Energy efficiency has been prominent in the building law both in European and on a national level, and the measures that have been taken seem to have had some effect. Now, the legislation is beginning to firmly fix its gaze on carbon reduction.

> *'The global average building energy intensity per unit of floor area needs to be at least 30% lower than current levels. Actions ranging from sustainable material choices and building design to urban planning measures, adaptation and resilience plans, clean energy transitions, and building operations and renovation approaches all provide an opportunity to realize this ambitious target.'* [7]

The Global ABC's roadmap towards low-ghd and resilient buildings from 2016 explains in a timeframe the global objectives in reducing greenhouse gase emissions in building and construction worldwide. Energy efficiency is necessary in the same way that material awareness and having understanding about how the buildings affect the climate throughout their lifespan.

> *'In this context, the purpose of this Road-map is to set up a collective framework for the building and construction sector to match the climate related objectives set out in the Paris Agreement, i.e. for the world to stay well below 2°C and to be carbon neutral in the second half of this century.'* [8]

Along with the rest of the Europe, Finland ratified the Paris Agreement in 2016. Generally speaking, the construction industry is expected drop its direct CO_2 emissions by 65% in the next 20 years.

> *'Analysis from the Climate Action Tracker (CAT) has illustrated a need to further strengthen the reduction in emissions. In a recent report, emissions reductions from buildings need to be deep and occur quickly, with substantial reductions by 2030 and almost complete decarbonisation by 2040. Using the mean across all scenarios modeled by CAT, the total direct CO_2 emissions reductions from the sector should be at least 45% by 2030, 65% by 2040, and 75% by 2050 relative to 2020. Indirect emissions from the power sector should decrease more quickly.'* [9]

In 11/2020 issue of au-magazine the student text was about sustainable design values and a collective called 'You Tell Me', which is organizing an evening school for knowledge sharing between architectural professionals.[10] Sustainability has been mentioned only occasionally during my studies, and judging by the work of 'You Tell Me', other newly-graduating architects must have had similar experiences. Practical tools which enable us to take architectural solutions beyond the bare minimum of sustainability have been offered during my studies less than any specific information relating to sustainable architecture. The event 'ammattipäivä 2020' had an online webinar called 'Sustainable Building'.[11] Finnish architects finally declared a Climate Emergency in May 2020, and VAPAA collective resieved the Bryggman Grant in October 2020.[12] There is a deep devotion in effort toward sustainable building measures on the national forums, and the industry understands that tackling climate change is the new crucial reality. Hopefully, movement toward changing these inadequacies is building up in Finland. However, Finnish architecture should have addressed this with vigorous devotion years ago. Therefor, we are in a hurry now.

It is not simply change that is happening in legislation which is relevant - it is the whole mindset around over-consumption that has to change. If students were prepared for this in education through practical understanding, it would mean a much easier transition in the future practice for everyone.

I recently participated in an online seminar called 'After the Pandemic'.[13] At the end of this online event, the fifth year architecture students, both from Glasgow School of Art and the University of Strathclyde, presented projects they were working on and had completed. It was exciting to see how the architectural education in Scotland was taking action through the studio work. The students were building briefs for themselves around topics such as community, minorities, immigration, neighborhoods, social justice, sustainability and climate change. It took only a few weeks after the seminar for 'After the Pandemic' to announce that they had been granted 3000 sqm site close to the venue of COP26 conference which is held in 2021 in Glasgow. The aim for them, alongside Fair Futures, is to change this brown site so that it is

1 Leisti 2020; Ruokangas 2020
2 ICTINC 2021
3 Kiddle, Luugigyoo & O'Brien 2018, 142-144; Grant, Greenop, Refiti & Glenn 2018, 734-736
4 Final talk in Exhibit Columbus 2020
5 2020 Global status report 2020, 4
6 2020 Global status report 2020, 20
7 2018 Global status report 2018, 10
8 ABC Global roadmap 2016, 5
9 2020 Global status report 2020, 25
10 Savela 2020, 48-49
11 SAFA a 2021
12 Archinfo a 2021; Archinfo b 2021
13 After the Pandemic 2020

'*Curated by Glaswegians, for Glaswegians, the space will present global challenges at a local level, and engage with international communities from around the world.*' Work toward climate literacy is done in Scotland by Anthropocene Architecture School.[14]

It is important to discuss the role of responsibility when Indigenous architecture and sustainable design solutions are mentioned. Throughout the world, Sápmi included, Indigenous people are still fighting against the exploitation of their homelands. Pipes, mines, railways, racism, ignorance, lack of legal rights, violence and contamination are all direct results of Indigenous people not having a voice. The effects of colonization are intimately related to the advancement of the excessive consumption and capitalism of our times. There is a responsibility that lands on to the system that has been, in many areas, built in place of traditional Indigenous societies. The struggle Indigenous people are having in relation to sustainability and their homes is an opportunity for the rest of the world to reflect on by recognizing the visible greed and destruction of ecosystems, livelihoods and cultures. Similar processes are taking place everywhere, not just in the Indigenous home areas. However, Indigenous people have taken a stand against this. It is this activism I perceive as one of the most important aspects of the relationship between Indigenous people, space and sustainability that people can learn from.

In Finland, the political program for architecture (APOLI2020) is about to be finished. Themes of the program are: *Sustainability and life cycle thinking, health and wellbeing, equality, participation, digitalization, new technologies, innovation, demographic change, area development, movement, conspicuousness of Finnish architecture, competitiveness, export, cultural heritage and tourism, architectural criticism, research and theory as well as architectural education and training.*[15] The previous APOLI program was produced 20 years ago.

In the chapter *'Equality and Participation'*, the proposed program states that:

> *'By creating a nationally uniformal means of measurement to assess peoples experience on their environment will make sure that the knowledge about these experiences will be relevant and connected to the other knowledge that describes the built environments as well as that it is utilized in design.'* [16]

It is this type of language that leads me to consider how the Saami reality is internalized by the field. '*Uniform means of measurement*' is a red flag. The study by Magga and Ojalatva[17] clearly spans out how different Saami experience their cultural landscapes. I hope the means of measuring does not only focus on 'good intentions' but really considers whether there is a uniform measurement for experiencing environment when the basis for these questions is fundamentally different.

The APOLI2020 considers travel, marketing and tourism as relevant way for architecture to make a difference. Similarly, special characteristics of a place and identity of place are considered in terms of how architecture can positively affect these. When considering the environmental and sustainable aspects of the Saami home area, I hope there is careful reflection on how architecture can negatively affect a place if its approach takes into account no considerations of the norther, Arctic or Indigenous Saami realities of places.[18]

9.3 SHARED KNOWLEDGE

It is only the Indigenous people who can speak for themselves and their communities in a meaningful way. Only the people can share their cultures with outside the communities in the way that matters. Indigenous communities' contribution to the narrative around the sustainability is highly relevant. It is the holistic approach many Indigenous cultures have toward environment and the way that one interacts with their home that is relevant to every singe person on this Earth. Undertaking the decarbonizing in the building industry is comprehensive and includes aspects such as the way we produce energy and materials. As an industry, architecture might benefit from taking time to understand this holistically.

As a word, sustainability has a comprehensive approach toward climate change. It is a term which includes environment, ecology, as well as the social and human aspects of life.

The words ecological and sustainable (ekologinen \ kestävä kehitys) have two very different meanings. Through the SAFA, webpage it is possible to find a blog called Eco-SAFA.[19] SAFA's choice to favor the word 'ecological' instead of 'sustainable' is short-sighted. The use of terms such as 'green building' or 'ecological building' adds to the narrative of 'the other'. In building practice, they isolate the problem from the common field of architectural practice. Currently, in their statement about their primary role in steering of building, SAFA clearly declare their main initiatives to be creation of beautiful, comfortable, healthy and safe environment for inhabitants. They continue observing how sustainable and quality environments are ensured through the system which relies on a municipality-focused planning and application system.[20] I am not implying that this system has no relevance. However, the expectations that a professional faces through the system architecture is interconnected with is exceedingly difficult to grasp if the professional body does not align to address the pressure being put on the field. This alignment happens though providing members with comprehensive mindset and abilities. '*Design creates culture, culture shapes values and values determine future.*' [21] I think it is relevant to approach this also other way round, where future determines values, values shape culture and culture creates design. The future of architecture must be sustainable, but for this to become reality, it has to be bedded into the culture of Finnish architecture. Everything comes back to the way that we talk about things. Perhaps this is another aspect of Indigenous realities that could also be examined by non-Indigenous counterparts in architecture.

Clearly, access to verified information from a trustworthy source is crucial. There is so much data, so many websites, papers, articles and laws relating to climate change. However, the information relating to sustainable building, specifically from the point of view of the architect in Finland, is surprisingly limited. Frustratingly, there seems to be no party on the organizational level who is responsible to mediate information truly relative to the architectural professionals. My university degree has certainly not done this. If you go to the Rakennustieto's main website[22], climate change or sustainability is mentioned nowhere. On Archinfo webpage [23], there is no information on sustainable design or what this might mean, or could mean in practice. It is extremely difficult to become climate literate in the Finnish Architectural field.

> *'Finland ranks among the top three countries for progress in energy efficiency policy, and it is largely on track for the nearly zero energy buildings target.*[16] *For example, some of the technologies that are regarded as standard in Finnish construction (e.g. triple glazing, and ventilation and heat recovery) are not common practice in other member states, for example, in the United Kingdom. At the same time, due to the climatic conditions and the lower energy performance of the older, existing building stock, there is a clear need to reduce the overall energy use of buildings in Finland.'* [24]

It should not be insurmountable to pursue such high standards in terms of sustainable architecture in Finland. The updated version of the Building and Land Law mentiones: *the carbon neutral society, strengthening diversity in nature, better quality in building as well as advancing the digitalization* as its main aims in the future. This new law should be updated by the end of 2021.[25]

9.4 SUSTAINABILITY IN FINNISH BUILDING

Green council provides a lot of information about changes and tools in dealing with the challenges that climate change brings to the building and construction industry. However, there is no digital library specifically aimed at Finnish architects that one can find information on sustainable alternatives, possible construction methods or technologies. There is no architecturally-relevant digital library based on in-depth case studies to support sustainable design processes. We are offered no toolbox for navigating the desig of resilient buildings. Architectural practice relies heavily on personal knowledge, and the tools developed through work are

14 Anthropocene Architecture School 2021
15 Education and Culture Ministry & Environment Ministry 2020, 3
16 Education and Culture Ministry & Environment Ministry 2020, 20
17 Magga & Ojalatva 2013
18 Education and Culture Ministry & Environment Ministry 2020, 26,27,31
19 SAFA b 2021
20 SAFA c 2021
21 Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, ii
22 Rakennustieto 2021
23 Archinfo b 2021
24 Kivimaa, Kangas, Lazarevic, Lukkarinen, Åkerman, Halonen & Nieminen 2019, 14
25 MRLuudistus 2021

equity in the business. For example, the skills in design practice, such as how to build with certain timber technologies tend to be private knowledge. One small step towards a system of sharing is the Architects Declare Finland's image bank called Future Visions.[26] However, practical knowledge should be considered, at a very profound level, as something that is available and actively offered to everyone. To me, this is an integral necessity toward becoming climate literate.

Architects are the ones who best understand the work an architect does, and the challenges one faces in practice. They look at buildings differently than engineers do. Sometimes the questions architects need to investigate is also different. There should therefor be an ongoing and active architectural discussion about climate change and building.

As outlined in the Global ABC's roadmap, and as the direction of the European Union determines, Finland is moving towards low carbon building. Carbon neutral buildings have no standard in Finland yet. Green Council Finland is currently working on the an assessment system for carbon neutral building.[27] The updated version of the Building and Land Law will include a new form of a document - the climate report. The aim is that in 2025, the whole life cycle of the building must be investigated as a part of a building permit application. A whole life carbon assessment will be included in the application. Finland has pledged to become carbon neutral by 2035.[28] Along these changes, there is a new database being produced which will include information on building products and their carbon impact.[29] The database should help in assessing the effect materials have in a built project. There is a difference between discussing materials in general and specific products in their detail, and to compare independent data on either has been difficult. Without a doubt, the role of materials will affect the way we create architecture when, for example, concrete is no longer the default material being used for creative solutions.

26 Archinfo c 2021
28 Green Council Finland a 2021
29 Ympäristöministeriö 2019, 9
30 Green Council Finland b 2021

Picture 9.1 White fish and pike caught with nets under the ice.

10.0 CONVERSATIONS

DEEP LISTENING

Ensure respectful, culturally specific, personal engagement behaviours for effective communication and courteous interaction. Make sure to be inclusive and ensure that recognised custodians are actively involved and consulted.

It is recommended designers start a conversation with the intention to learn—not to teach—and demonstrate the practice of being courteous, patient and listening deeply. Designers and their clients need to develop dedicated research practice methods for Indigenousthemed projects and be aware of the budgetary impact associated with such considerations.

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 16, 31)

10.1 THE THOUGHTS OF THE OCCUPANTS

The aim of these conversations was to gain a sense of the day-to-day life of the language nests. This is partly why the information gathered from these brief conversations aligns toward the attitude I had at the start of this project. I did not look for comments on architectural values or really discuss how the building should look. All of the questions I posed have been based to functionality.

The Anarâškielâ language nests operate out of two regular houses in the village of Aanaar. Each house has a group of eight children. Currently, they are organized by age, as a younger children's group and an older children's group. The class 0, or per-school class, is situated in the village school. Both houses interact with each other. The demand for a place in a language nest is always greater than the nest system has the ability to offer. The nests used to have 'an afternoon club', where the small school children could go to after school. This has not been part of the language nest for some time. There should be enough space for at least three groups.

In my interviews, I asked about potential sites, and a place next to Siida or Sajos was thought to be practical, as the children attended different events in both of them. However, the staff also pointed out that taking the children for field trips was a challenge regardless of the distance between the nest and the venue. They would probably have to take a taxi to most places in the village. They proceeded to highlight the importance of everyday life, an the fact that it would be nice to '*not to go on a trip to the forest*' but rather have the forest as an aspect of everyday life they could access it with the children whenever they wanted to. They hoped that a play area would be part of the forest, or have trees and natural surface, opposite to the open gravel-sufficed yard they currently have.

Fishing was also considered important, even when the safety regulations make it difficult in practice. The language nest puts fish nets under the lake ice, and children also do ice fishing. Fishing is a hugely important part of the history of the Anarâš people and their culture. The visual connection and presence of the water was considered valuable, especially to the elderly. Easy access to water was important but the building would not need to be right at the water's edge

The objective in the language nest is to provide the children with opportunities to genuinely become familiar with different aspects of the practical part of culture. It is important to keep this in mind. We discussed the culturally-specific aspects of the building, inside and outside. Play is obviously a big part of the daily routine in a nursery. The smaller kids' yard at the moment has **a kota**, and two old boats. One of the boats has been used for growing plants and the other is used by the kids in play. The kota was thought to be an important element in connecting with the elderly people, as sitting by fire and frying sausages, making pancakes and chatting together, can be achieved there. The staff wished for a place with a real fire and it was pointed out that instead of a commercial kota, the place could be a turf kuáti instead, as it is closer to what Anarâš people used to traditionally build. It was thought that it would be good to have a separate kuáti for the children to play. At the moment in the kota, a wooden floor has been built because through the snow-free months water collects and stays on the lower part of the ground, where the kota is situated.

It was highlighted that with the choice of fittings and play items, it would be good to take locality into consideration. It was suggested by a staff member that, for example, spring swings outside could be reindeers with antlers instead of giraffes and elephants. Reindeer could be used in culturally relevant play. The staff told me that the language nest used to have an old snowmobile on the yard and it was much loved by the children. It had to be removed, but something similar made out of wood and with an sledge could provide fun for the children. A small granary shed was also mentioned as a potential play instrument.

Fish and meat drying equipment were thought to be important, especially for the older people. Bird feeding was also discussed, even though it may present problems with cleaning, it is something that the older people could enjoy following through the windows.

The language nest already has some birdhouses in use for nesting. The opinion of the staff was that inside, the built-ins and equipment should stay in natural textures and materials. Nature could be mimicked by stone and log-like pillows as well as with different colors of fabrics. In this way, it would be possible to create different landscapes, such as rivers and meadows for play and storytelling. The language immersion should include use of written text, so wall surfaces are needed for hanging up posters and the children's work. It was tought that it would be beneficial for the children to have a place to relax and quiet down during the day, a reading nook for example.

When we were talking about the relationship with elderly members of the community, it was mentioned that when the language nests started, elderly people were encouraged to visit. This happened to some extent, but over the years this has dwindled. This was thought to have happened because mobility has become more difficult for them. It is clear that the building has to have places for both the children and older people to retreat into privacy, especially when noise levels are considered. The entrance should also work for everyone. Overall the idea of a mixed-use building was received as a good idea.

10.2 HOME

The language nest workers desired that the space be a home-like environment, and as mentioned in the chapter about the design of the Pahin Sinte Owayawa (Porcupine School) by Encompass Architects, home is a recurring theme in the contexts of the Indigenous institutions. In Indigenous architecture, in relation to institutions, home is a powerful term that should be examined with the utmost consideration. For the Sapmi, and generally within Indigenous communities, schooling and boarding facilities are difficult topics to confront. These spaces have brought pain to many families both in Finland and around the world.

I understand the desire to design and create a home-like environment, especially when considering the implications of the institutional form. But what this means in practical terms is more difficult to discern. Home is a complex concept, as everybody has an individual experience on what they consider to be a home-like environment for them. It is static and dynamic, an abstract concept all at once. According to a Merriam-Webster dictionary home can be:

> A place of residence;
> The social unit formed by a family living together;
> a familiar or usual setting : congenial environment;
> habitat;
> a place of origin; and
> one's own country.[1]

It is also an ideal which is interpreted through the lens of a 'generic normal'. This can be seen, for example, in how homes are sold, and how advertising depicts a very specific narrative around who lives in these homes. This narrative is slowly changing but it is still a white, nuclear and often heterosexual reality with Christian values and matrimonial marriage firmly in place. This concept of home is perpetuated, and is still seen as a goal to be aspired toward. There are clear expectations about what a home should be, and this ideal of a desirable home is often reinforced by the consumer-aimed media.

Because of this colonialist enforcement of home, Indigenous communities have been hurt. Whole cultures have been damaged, and some dismantled.[2] The concept of home does play somewhat negative part in the global narrative on the Indigenous peoples' histories. It also plays a part in the current conflicts between state, capitalism and Indigenous places, as home is under constant attack by organizations and industries seeking to profit. In the terms of the Saami, the problematic nature of home is related to a wider idea of place and how it is perceived through the Finnish State, general public and the different Saami groups.

In Finland, there are ideas and standards that architects follow in their pursuit of designing good housing. Home is a concept we study and work around repeatedly during our careers as architects.

As a standard, it is reviewed by the state legislation. It is hugely affected by income and the market so the vivid divide in society infuses its own principles into it. Yet to every one of us, regardless of origin, background or social status, a home is positive aspiration.

Nonetheless, defining what a person or community considers home like is not possible without listening what they themselves perceived it. '*Home-like*' was a term used by the language nest workers when they described to me how they thought the language nest should be. It is difficult to discern what this exactly means, other than it is definitely seen as the opposite to institutional.

10.3 HEART OF THE HOME

Food was mentioned by both staff members that I interviewed, as hugely positive aspect of the way they operate day-to-day. The language nests are able to cook on site and use local or self-sourced produce like berries, fish and moose meat. They also said that if a building runs as a part of the municipal operations, it would be likely this would be lost, and that the food would come from the central kitchen. The staff members also suggested language nest would run better if it had a person who was solely in charge of kitchen, shopping and preparing the food, rather than having stuff being in charge of this while they were also focusing on the children. This type of a kitchen operation reminds me of how the small rural schools used to operate in Finland. Regardless, the kitchen should be central to the plan and it would serve everyone in the building. Food is a huge part of the Indigenous culture and identity.

During one of my calls to the nests, a person I was talking to told me that they were making food and that one of the children woken up and came to find her in the kitchen. We finished our discussion and I was left wondering if home-like also means access. In normal institutional childcare unit the role of the kitchen is different to what children are accustomed to at home.

How would accessibility and the movement of people as part of the building's communal aspect be possible in a space with different age groups and issues around safety? How would it be possible for a small home-like unit for children to move to a larger mixed-use building, with multiple age groups and generations sharing space under one roof without losing the aspect of access to each other And further, what would home-like mean to the elderly who would actually be living in the building?

10.4 STRATEGIES

The municipality's strategy for elderly care clearly states that the main focus is on enabling the elderly to stay at home as long as possible by providing support to them. I think this is definitely a best case scenario for many people. However, I also believe there should be options regarding people's living situations. The same strategy mentiones how there is a desire for smaller flats within the village center that are specifically for the elderly. [3] Aanaar village has no care facilities or specific flats dedicated to the aging population, and the rental market in the village is known to be inadequate. People in the Aanaar area have long distances to cover. The driving distances between a home and Avvil village can easily take upto an hour.[4] Aanaar does not have a elderly care facility which works on cultural and language basis. In 2015, the municipality had 13% Saami speaking social and healthcare workers. [5]

From a cultural stand point, it is important to think about the people who would inhabit the building in terms of the time they have lived as part of place and community. For the size of the care home, I used a guideline that it would accommodate about ten people.[6] The Anarâš elderly who would be living in the building in the 2020 onward would probably be people who were born in the 1940-50s, perhaps even in the 1930s. They were children during the years of the aftermath of the Second World War. During their adult years, their communities underwent massive changes. There was the rebuilding of the burned north, construction of new roads, people moving into Aanaar and new professions while Anarâškielâ was fast disappearing from use. Lives changed radically. I have discussed the meaning of community in detail elsewhere, but to people of Aanaar who spend their childhoods in the aftermath of the war, villages, communities and families were crucially important. For them, the social interactions were part of the practical way of everyday life.

For the elderly people, who live in the smaller communities outside the big commercial centers, quality of life should be under more thorough examination in architecture. In my project, the building belongs to the elderly through an arc of time. Instead of being the last resort, the building design should offer different ways to live for the various age groups and ability levels, while still upholding the reality of a small, communal, home-like building that recognizes the culturally-specific aspect of the people who inhabit it.

kota (finnish) - is a form of **kuáti** and in this case a commercial one.
This building typology is used as a grill hut for barbeque and socialising and they are most often made out of wood and can be easily built and purchased.

1 Merriam-Webster 2021
2 For example, document: Our Generation (2010).
2 Inari 2015, 9-10, 28
4 Inari 2015, 7
5 Inari 2015, 8
6 Inari 2015, 24

Picture 11.1 Stitching Saami winter shoes out of the reindeer skin. Skins from four legs make a pair of warm and comfortable shoes.

Picture 11.2 Scaling and gutting a white fish.

11.0 SAAMI ARCHITECTURE

CHARTER IMPLEMENTATION

Ask the question if there is an aspect to the project, in relation to any design brief, that may be improved with Indigenous knowledge.

Use the Charter to safeguard Indigenous design integrity and to help build the cultural awareness of your clients and associated stakeholders.

(Kennedy, Kelly and Greenaway 2018, 28,33)

11.1 INDIGENOUS SAAMI ARCHITECTURE

The themes that have come forward in this dissertation are highlighted by the two apects of our profession - the practical and the theoretical - and the lack of material that has been produced by either in the context of Saami architecture.

The theoretical side of Saami architecture has provoked many question that I have not been yet able to answer. Such as: What kind of language and terminology we should use around Indigenous Saami architecture? Do we have traditional Saami architecture? Is it relevant to use vernacular in connection with Saami architecture? What kind of connection does Saami architecture have with critical regionalism? How about place-making? Where does the urban context come into Saami architecture? How do we see individual identity developing through place-making and Saami communities?

I am left with numerous questions and preciously few answers.

Similarly, in terms of practice, I am captivated by policy-making, legal parameters and the practical tools around not just Indigenous Saami architecture, but community-focused design in general. Because Saami people, their languages, cultures and places are a part of the Indigenous discourse, this ties them to a wider international discussion around spaces, as well as the environmental questions and the nature of power. Even though Saami architecture might not exist within the practices of the Indigenous design principles yet, Saami people and architecture have been interacting with each other for a long time. While Saami people exist as a part of their own communities and their own nation, as a people they are still also present throughout the Finnish society and decision-making systems. Saami people occupy spaces like everyone else does.

Saami architecture could be written off as non-existent, however there is an existing building tradition. For most part, it simply has not been formed by architects. On the other hand, it is the contemporary aspect of the Saami architecture that is confusing, as there are examples of Saami building, but they are not part of the discourse of Indigenous architecture. Because of this, my conclusion on Indigenous Saami architecture is that within the framework of the prevalent Indigenous design processes, it does not exist in Finland yet. The contemporary Saami architecture we currently have to analyse, is produced by non-Saami architects. So there is Saami architecture in terms of purpose-built buildings that are inhabited by Saami people.

It is possible that Saami architecture will always be produced by non-Saami architects in the future. This does not mean that there could not be Indigenous Saami buildings. The relevant question is how, regardless of who the architect is, could it be guaranteed that this allows the Saami narrative to develop in the built environment.

The absence of monumental public Saami buildings does not mean that such a thing as an Indigenous Saami architecture, should - or rather - could not exist. There is no collective consensus on how to interpret what the current movement in Indigenous architecture means in terms of the Saami architecture and the protocols we follow. It is something the Saami architects, planners, place-makers, artists and activists across the Sápmi should collectively consider.

A part of me has begun to question fundamentally the entire role of architect. Saami architecture is part of a knowledge system that is not based on professionalism. It is borne out of the practice of being a master of what you do. This includes being able to share and pass on your knowledge. The concept of this profession has not existed in the traditional society, and as such there were just people who became masters in the skills they needed or inherited. I am not sure if an Indigenous architect who operates mainly in the context of Indigenous building can even exist in the same framework as a contemporary non-Indigenous architect does. This raises further questions about the meaning architecture as a collective tradition. This has made me think about where we come from as a field of practice.

In the case of a cultural center, the parliament or museum, the building typology is able to contain more symbolism. When the political and social charge around a building is strong, the forces in operation around it become more recurrent and the meaning dissipates. The role of Saami people in the building's narrative is still central, however the damage this type of architectural build inflicts on a community may be less devastating than it is in more 'insignificant' buildings.

Perhaps when a strong architectural identity is projected through a building typology, the narrative of power and political presence imbue the building with a sense of generality. It is the 'less valuable' buildings within the Sápmi that concern me. The care homes, residential buildings, schools, nurseries and smaller communal buildings where the relationship between the building and the people who occupy is more intimate. Unfortunately, without a close connection and involvement as a part of the design processes, the individual needs of each community can easily be overlooked.

There remains great deal to investigate in terms of the values of Indigenous Saami architecture, for instance, what the role of an architect really holds in the community - not just in terms of the built environment - but within space in general. It is an internal understanding of cultural responsibility and sophistication that really sets Indigenous architecture apart from the way we usually practice architecture. I am sure that the idea of community-led design is rather alien to the modern identity of a functional Finnish architect. Perhaps, it is intimidating as we are taught creative control from the beginning of our studies.

Saami people are active and effective, able to conduct and make decisions. I see no reason why in architecture, the collation of the contemporary architectural movements and the principles of the Indigenous design should not produce buildings that can positively impact in the entire Nordic architectural field. Saami people deserve to been seen as the active operators that they are, not just in their own traditional design practices, but also in the general field of design.

I believe that in understanding our history, we can connect with the present and also the future. However, I worry about the protection and stabilization of Indigenous architecture by institutions and non-Indigenous counterparts. Institutionalization as a part of the existing system could cast expectations on the future of the Indigenous architecture, where it could become preserved. In this sense, architecture is still quite obsessed with the glory of the past. Holding on too tightly and putting a heavy emphasis on the narrative of the past Indigenous architectural solutions should not be the only narrative told about Indigenous design. Indigenous people should have the opportunity to be an active part of future, and also in architecture.

Indigenous cultures are living cultures, and should not be fantasized about from afar, or idealized. I would like to consider Indigenous architecture of the future as responsive and eager to solve problems. In fostering this, I see the decolonization of an institutionalized view on the history of architecture pertinent.

Picture 11.3 Windy Lake Muddus

PART 2

DESIGN CONCLUSIONS

Tulvääšluohtâ/Tulvalahti

Carefully I slide through the slough of vegetation hidden under water, dense wall of willow and snow-broken branches the flood has brought in.

My mind is filled with a ridiculous terror. I don't know what is lurking under the surface of the water.

I shout to my great-aunt, trying to figure out if she is in position. I lift my pole and hit the water making a sound I didn't even know I had.

I start striding along.
Step, step, whack, step, step, whack.

The pole is heavy and sweat is dripping down my back. The mosquitoes have taken a notice of me and they are swarming around me. It is so early in the summer, I forgot to put repellent on and the tiny monsters are attacking my face with such a delight it makes me laugh out loud.

I keep walking on, whacking and screaming until I am in the open swamp knee deep in water smiling like I have won the lottery.

Did you see any?

I start to make my way toward the break of land and the lake where the wall of unruly willows so prominently mark the change. My aunt makes a sound and I can hear her leaping forward.

It was right next to my feet, laying on the path! The water is so high! Did it go toward the side?

We both make our way to the shore and the boat. On the lake side the water is almost to our waist so we hop on to the boat and row the short distance to the net we have fastened between the willows.

It is deceivingly quiet. We move carefully along the net and I am holding my breath. Suddenly something makes a somersault further on.

Carefully, carefully! It might not have stuck in.

We maneuver the fish in the boat. Snell whack with the priest and we are done. I can feel my forehead throbbing and swallowing as we make our way back to the shore. We cannot stop laughing. How sweet first fresh fish of the season will taste!

Later in the summer, we are out with the boat and meet new cottage owners. They tell us how many pike there is and how easy they are to catch.

Jenni Hakovirta

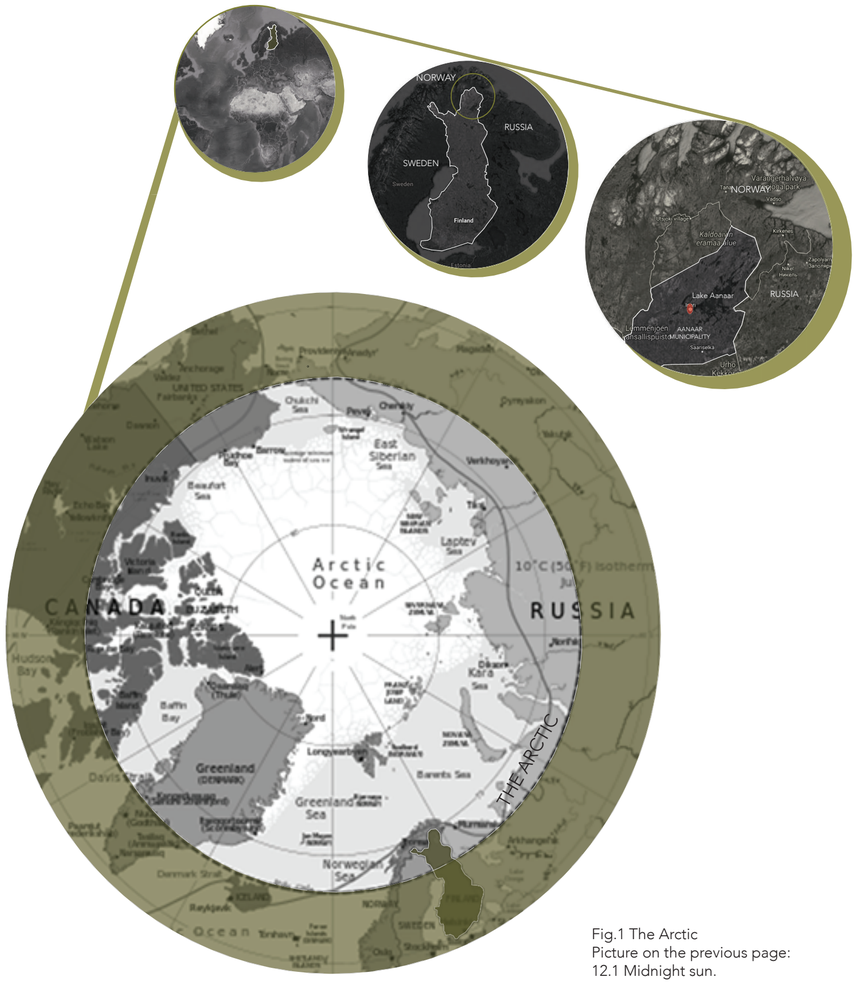


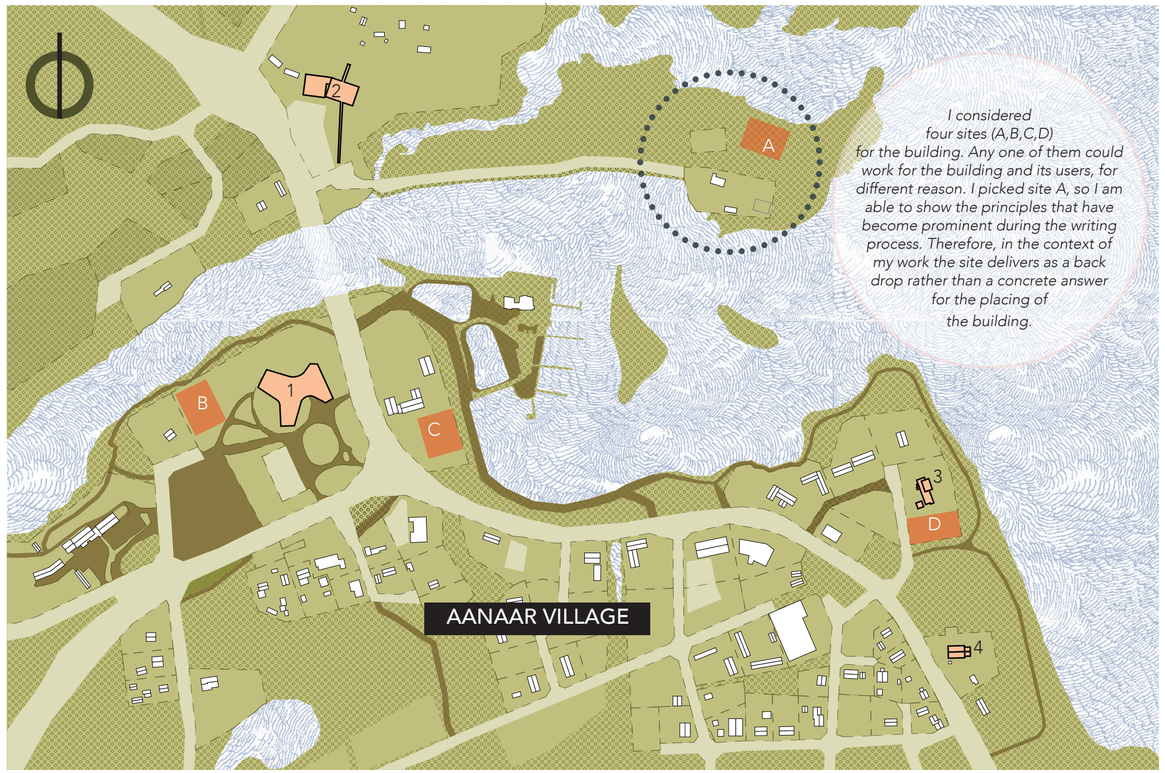
Fig.1 The Arctic
Picture on the previous page:
12.1 Midnight sun.

12.0 LOCATION

Aanaar municipality covers 5% of Finland. Within the municipality, there are 10,000 lakes and around 100 named hills. Swamps are a prominent part of the landscape. The biggest lake in the area is called Lake Aanaar and it has over 3300 islands. The whole municipality is located in the Arctic Circle. The population density in the municipality is around 0,5 people/km2..

In Saami reality, the natural course of the year has eight seasons. The rhythm of the year is led by polar night and the polar summer. This means that the sun does not rise between November and January and it does not set between May and July.

The area has snowy winters which usually last between November and May. Summers are short and insects are a prominent part of it. Temperatures can vary during the year dramatically. During the summer temperature can reach 20-25 C° and during winter the temperature regularly drops below - 30C°.



I considered four sites (A,B,C,D) for the building. Any one of them could work for the building and its users, for different reason. I picked site A, so I am able to show the principles that have become prominent during the writing process. Therefore, in the context of my work the site delivers as a back drop rather than a concrete answer for the placing of the building.

Fig.2 Aanaar village

Sgnificant buildings:

1. Sajos (cultural centre)
2. Siida (museum)
3. Church hall
4. Church

SITE A / SIIDA

Fig.3 Site A

1. The harbour could be used also by the language nest and the carehome. Picture by Hakovirta.

2. Forest is lush around the site and has many deciduous trees. Picture by Hakovirta.

3. The boat harbour has several buildings for storage and maintenance. Picture by Hakovirta.

4. A clearing next to the site is been used frequently. Picture by Hakovirta.

13.0 LIGHT

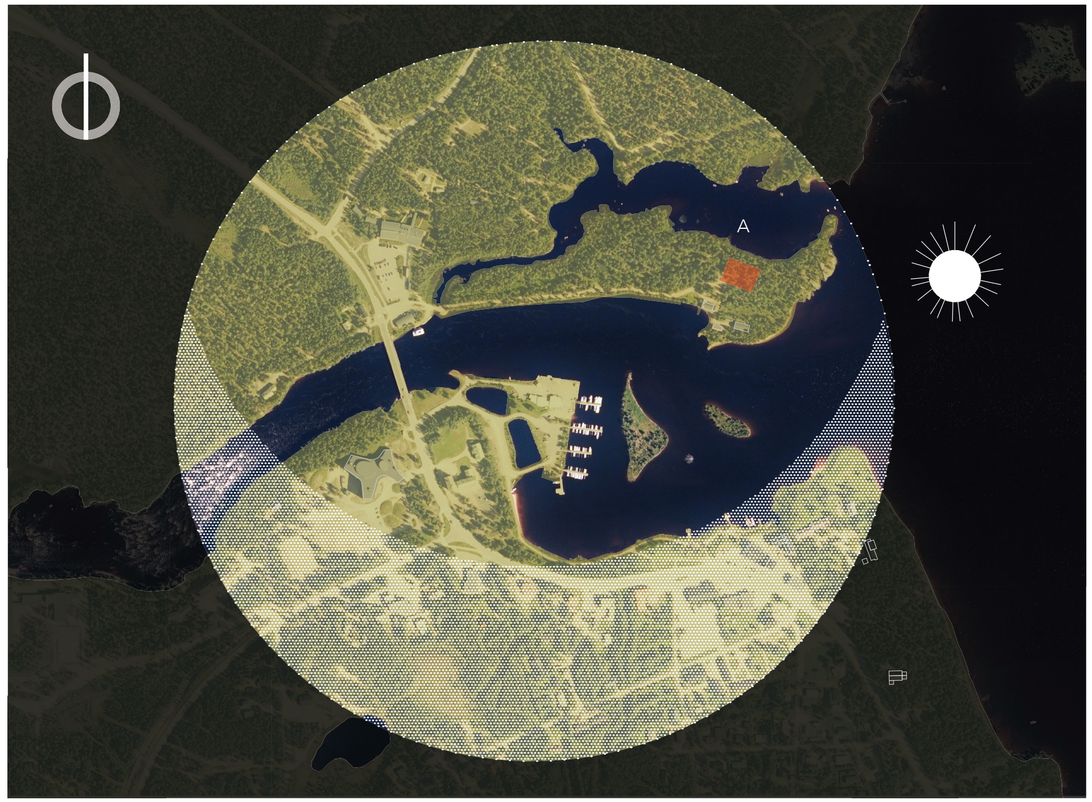


Fig.4 Light

The natural light conditions of Aanaar are extreme because of its location in the Arctic. The polar night and day bring their own challenges to both the natural and artificial lighting of the building.

In addition to this, sun stays very close to the horizon during sertain times of the year. The angle which the sun shines from, can be unexpected to a designer. It is relative to remember this when, for example, openings are planned for the building.

14.0 CONNECTION

Fig.5 Connections

Avvil is 38,8 km away from Aanaar village. It has the main healthcare services and most of the offices and municipality buildings. Aanaar village has a harbour and the waterways are, especially during the summer season, busy.

Towards the north, Ohcejohka is 125 km, Gáregasnjárga 98 km and Njauddâm 145 km away. All three villages are situated on the Finnish-Norway border. The municipality center is in Rovaniemi, which is 326 km away from Aanaar. The distance between Helsinki and Aanaar is 1156 km.

15.0 WATER

Aanaar village is positioned on the point where Juvduujuuhâ meets the Lake Aanaar. Currents on the river and the river mouth can be extremely potent, especially during the spring floods. Both the lake and river freeze over the winter months.

Fig.6 Water

Beautiful lake or river view will demand the absence of thick forest. The positioning of the building will implement some deforestation so the condition of the forest on the site is something to consider. If the forest is very old, the tree situation should be closely examined. Trees grow very slowly in the Arctic.

A View towards the bay. Picture by Hakovirta.

The building's relationship with water is driven by both activity and visual objectives.

The connection created by positioning of the building next to a body of water should strengthen practical culture as well as people's mental wellbeing.

Water and wind together can present problems. An open body of water gives space and surface for wind to build up. If lake is situated on north of the site and there is no break for the wind (trees and shrubs) the wind can be unforgiving this far north. This is something to consider, especially in regards of the children's play area.

16.0 GROUND

Picture 16.1 Junnáás on the shore of the Lake Pääđäär. (1931)

Picture 16.2 - Lusmenjargâ on the shore of the Lake Pääđäär. (1933)

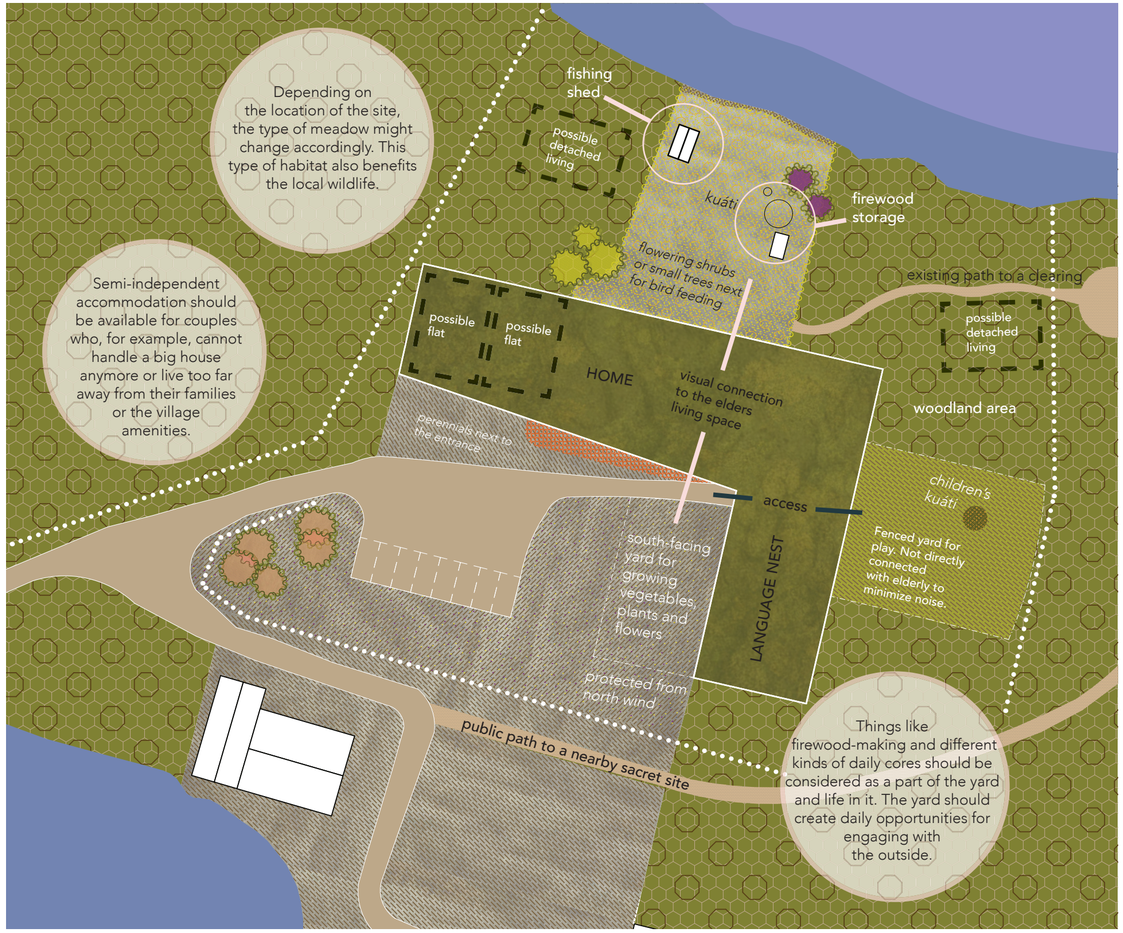


Fig.7 Yard

Having a tactile and diverse yard supports the cultural context, especially when children's language development is considered. Site where children can engage with different situations and practices is important. In this sense, it is not only the building that should be considered as the third educator. Also outside space is relevant.

When the yard is designed, it should be discussed if controlled grass lawn, asphalt and rigid planting is a correct response. Natural field, dry meadow or pasture with graveled surfaced for vehicles might serve better the cultural context and surroundings of the building.

The site, as part of the building, should be seen as a stimulating and familiar environment to elderly who suffer from dementia or Alzheimer. Views are important to people who have illnesses which make them subject to extensive care. Especially, when moving becomes difficult.

17.0 KUÁTI - ROOF

Picture 17.1 Home on an island on Lake Aanaar. 1918.

Picture 17.2 Saami woman and dog.

As an example, Guovssahas Mánáidgárdi, which is a Saami nursery in Tromsø, has built kuáti in their yard.

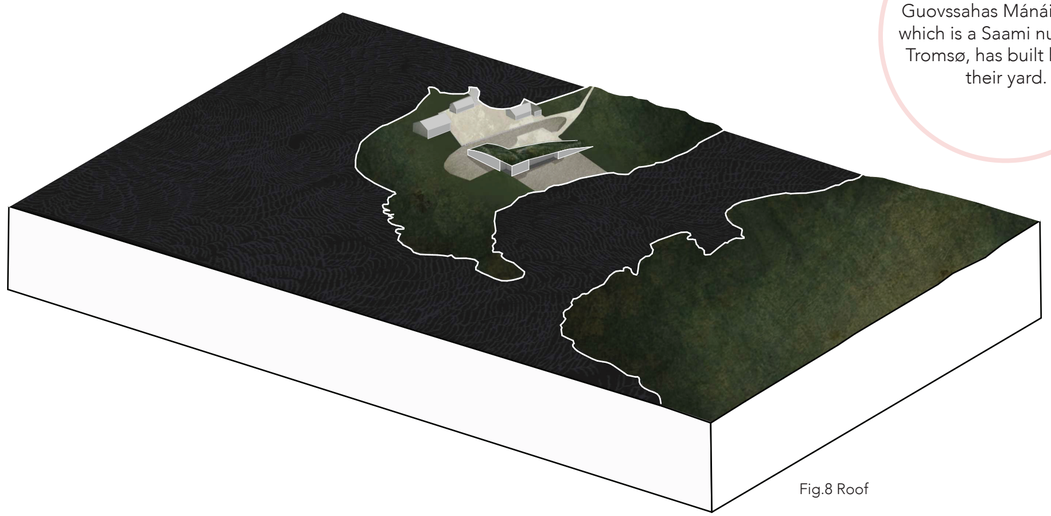


Fig.8 Roof

Picture 17.3 Art work Solju by Outi Pieki on the yard of Guovssahas Mánáidgárdi, Saami kindergarden in Tromsø.

18.0 LIVING

The symbolic language used in the building should be determined together with the Anarâš community.

NARRATIVE

Kuáti as a concept has value and it is a relevant part of the cultural context of this building. The natural move would be to consider a green roof as a part of the building. I think, it deserves to be brought forward as a part of the discussion about the narrative of the building.

In terms of the architectural language of the building, the objectives are not directly to do with 'blending' the building into the landscape. Rather, a green roof would be environmentally relevant, can be expressive and could play a part in the children's play.

Personally, I see no reason why the building cannot have a strong architectural presence and identity. To me, investigating what pride and relevance mean in terms of this building, instead of terms such as a blank canvas and naturality, would be a direction that I would be comfortable to take as an architect. However, as the Indigenous design process goes, in the end it would be up to the community to determine how they see the narrative of their spaces developing.

Similarly, fencing could be investigated as a part of the design because, in addition to the safety issues, it is necessary for keeping the reindeer from eating planting.

Picture 18.1 Suspended nest in Mana Tamaraki language school. Designed byTennent and Brown Architects.

The children should have a place to quiet down. Reading nook was suggested by the stuff. Tennent and Brown included in the Mana Tamaraki a physical nest. This space supports children's independent learning and interaction with each other. Change in levels could be also investigated as a part of the quiet space.

Daily life in the building could include many small tasks and joys that are located outside of the building. What home-like means to the users should be thoroughly investigated as a part of the design process.

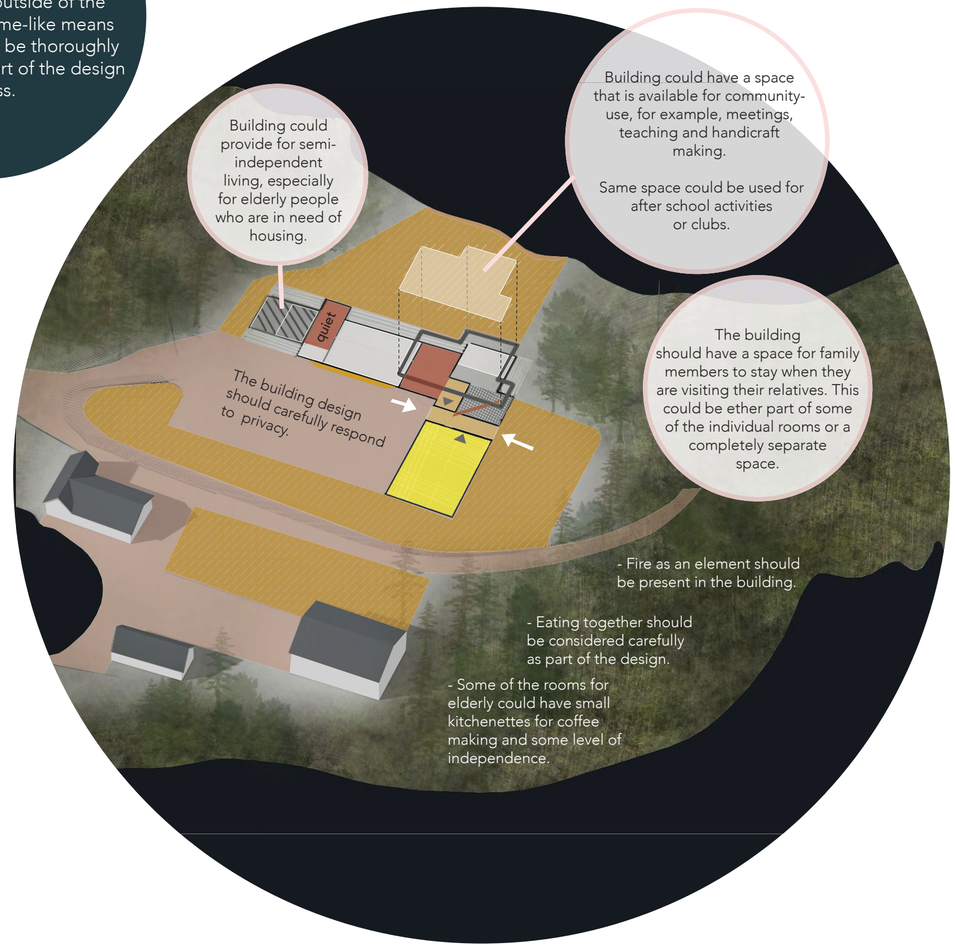
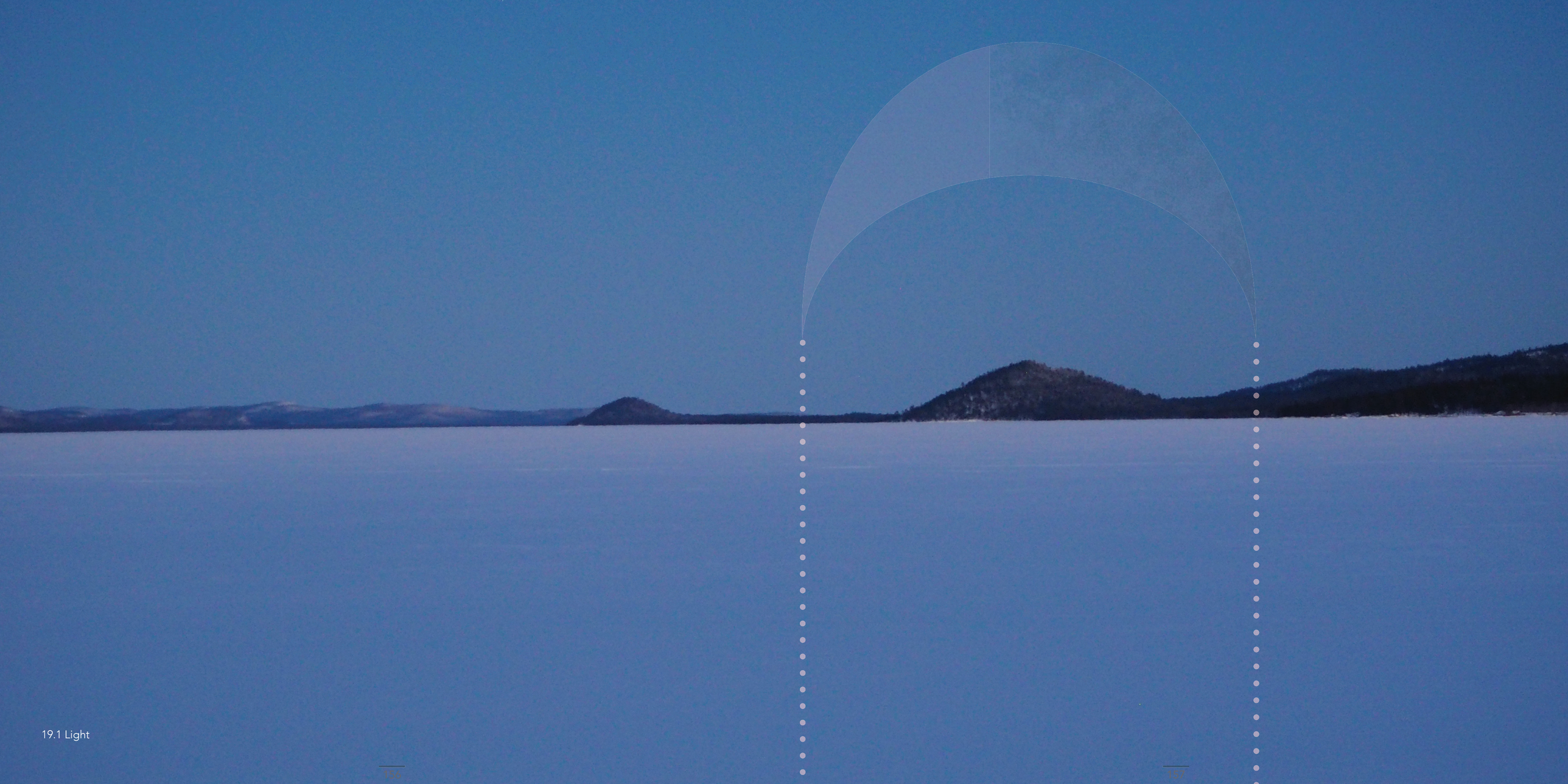


Fig.9 Living



19.1 Light

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20.0 PICTURE REFERENCES

Picture 1.1 Photographer: Grant Miller
Picture 1.2 Photograph from Airamo family-photo album.
Picture 1.3 Photographer: Ari Karttunen/EMMA

Čohkiideapmi/Falling Shawls
By Saami artist Outi Pieski (2017)
Espoo Museum of Modern Art, Finland
(12.9.2018-6.1.2019)

Accessed through http://www.outipieski.com/installations-collages/falling-shalws/

Picture 1.4 Pages 7-8 of the International Indegenous Design Charter.

Front cover image:
Title: Feather Flower
Designer: Glenda Nicholls (Wadi Wadi/Ngarrindgeri/Yorta Yorta) Location: Koorie Heritage Trust Collection
Photographer: Graham Baring
Date:1994

Picture 1.5 Photographer: Kevin Francett

Northern Lights Theatre during the Skábmagovat Indigenous Film Festival.

Accessed through https://www.skabmagovat.fi/gallery/

Picture 1.6 Photographer: Grant Miller
Picture 2.1 Photographer: Jenni Hakovirta
Picture 2.2 Photograph from Airamo family-photo album.
Picture 2.3 Photographer: Grant Miller
Picture 2.4 Photographer: Tuula Airamo

Picture 3.1 Tennent and Brown Architects
Mana Tamariki Language School

Accessed through: https://tennentbrown.co.nz/projects/education/mana-tamariki

Picture 4.1 Photographer: Grant Miller
Picture 5.1 Photographer: Grant Miller

Picture 6.1 Photographer: Kevin Francett

Kuobžâ-Piäká Ánná (Anna Morottaja)
singing duringcthe Skábmagovat Indigenous Film Festival in Aanaar.

Accessed through https://www.skabmagovat.fi/gallery/

Picture 7.1 Photographer: Grant Miller

Picture 7.2 Photographer: Doug Walker
@dougwalkerphoto

7 Direction architects/planners
Skokomish Tribal Community Center

Accessed through http://www.7directionsarchitects.com/project/skokomish-tribal-master-plan-community-center/

Picture 7.3 Photographer: Tuula Airamo
Picture 8.1 Photographer: Jenni Hakovirta
Picture 9.1 Photographer: Grant Miller
Picture 11.1 Photographer: Tuula Airamo
Picture 11.2 Photographer: Grant Miller
Picture 11.3 Photographer: Grant Miller
Picture 12.1 Photographer: Jenni Hakovirta

Picture 16.1

Panoraama Inarista: Paadarjärven Junnas, 1931 (KK5065-5-12B)
Tekijä: Mikkola Erkki, kuvaaja
Kuva on osa albumia 5065:5
Museoviraston kuvakokoelmat, kansantieteen kuvakokoelma

Picture 16.2

Panoraama Inarista: Paadarjärven Lusmaniemi ja Lusma-Pekan väki, 1933 (KK5065-6-60B)
Tekijä: Mikkola Erkki, kuvaaja
Kuva on osa albumia 5065:5
Museoviraston kuvakokoelmat, kansantieteen kuvakokoelma

17.1 Kota ja sen asukas 'Hiiri-Priitta' Inarijärven Tablusaaressa.2018
Tekijä: Elfvig, Arvo, kuvaaja
Museovirasto

17.2 Vanha lappalaisnainen ja koira turvekodan edustalla, alusvaatteita kuivumassa riulla.
Museovirasto. Saksalaisen Greifswaldin yliopiston Lapin retki kunnan ottama kuva.

17.3 Outi Pieski
Solju
By Saami artist Outi Pieski (2007)
Guovssahas - Sámi Kindergarden, Tromso, Norway.

Accessed through http://www.outipieski.com/installations-collages/solju-2007/

Report on building the yard in Tromsø: Rapport bygging av tradisjonelle samiske bygninger ved guovssahas mánáidgárdi, Tromsø by Martin Urheim / Sámediggi - Sametinget / Eindom Tromsø Kommune

18.1 Tennent and Brown Architects
Mana Tamariki Language School

Accessed through: https://tennentbrown.co.nz/projects/education/mana-tamariki

19.1 Photographer: Grant Miller

Cover: Collage from photographes by Jenni Hakovirta and Grant Miller.

Layout is made Jenni Hakovirta.
Fig. 1-9 are made by Jenni Hakovirta.

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2021